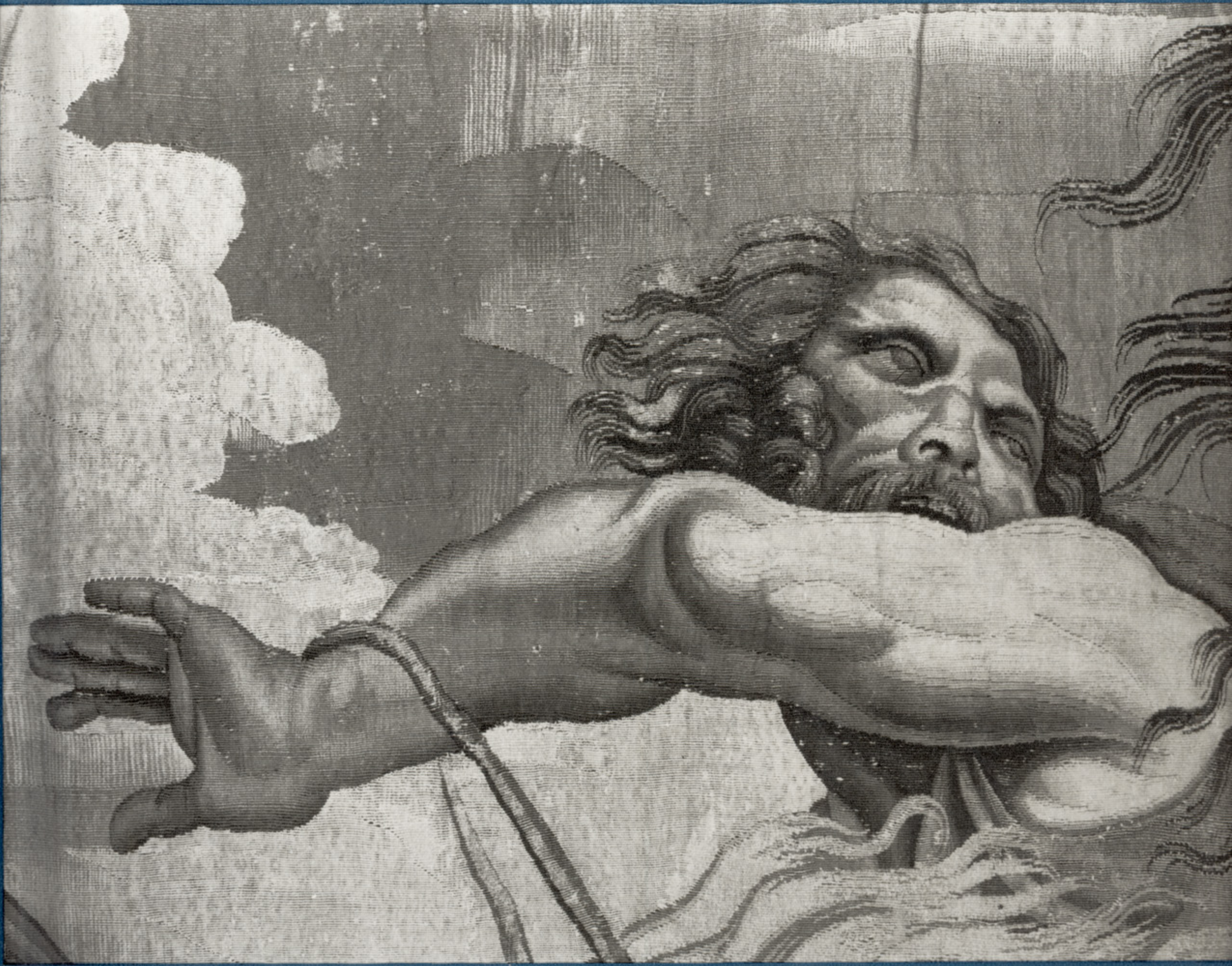
TAPESTRIES FROM THE S · H · KRESS COLLECTION



THE HISTORY OF CONSTANTINE THE GREAT

designed by PETER PAUL RUBENS *and* PIETRO DA CORTONA

WITH A CATALOGUE BY DAVID DUBON · PHAIDON

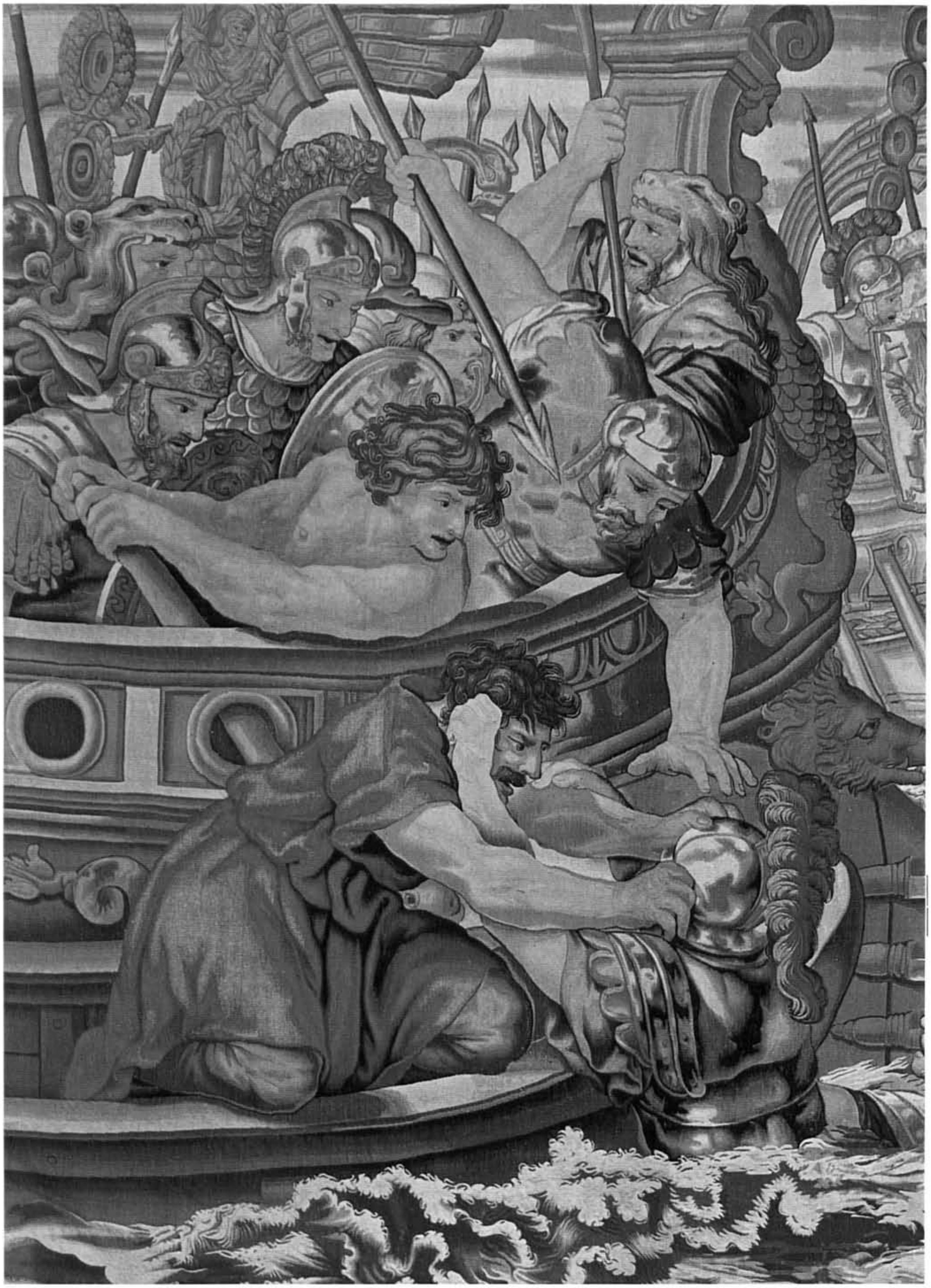
COMPLETE CATALOGUE
OF THE
SAMUEL H·KRESS COLLECTION

TAPESTRIES

THE HISTORY OF
CONSTANTINE THE GREAT

BY

DAVID DUBON



DETAIL FROM PLATE 35

TAPESTRIES

FROM THE SAMUEL H · KRESS COLLECTION
AT THE PHILADELPHIA MUSEUM OF ART

* * *

THE HISTORY OF CONSTANTINE THE GREAT
DESIGNED BY
PETER PAUL RUBENS
AND PIETRO DA CORTONA

* * *

BY DAVID DUBON

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PREFACE

THE Philadelphia Museum of Art is extremely proud to be the recipient from the Samuel H. Kress Foundation of one of the most celebrated and unique sets of tapestries to have been created – the superb thirteen-panel series, 'The History of Constantine the Great', originally housed in the Barberini Palace in Rome.

These tapestries are among the last of many treasures presented to American Museums by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation in a program which has extended over many years and has been of immense help in enriching the collections of many of our museums.

A number of factors entered into the gift of the Constantine tapestries to the Museum but one, the question of space to properly display hangings of such great size, was doubtless the most compelling in arriving at a final decision. When the gift was proposed, a study of the tapestries was made to determine if they could be contained in a single area of the Museum. The Great Hall immediately came to mind since its monumental character and dimensions seemed to admirably, almost miraculously, meet all requirements. Here, not only could the thirteen great panels fit edge to edge in a magnificent frieze of color and movement, but the works could be seen from near, to examine detail and workmanship, or from across the Hall to enjoy the stories told or to admire the powerful designs of Rubens and Pietro da Cortona, who also created some of the cartoons. It was perhaps also a pleasant thought in the minds of the donors that the Philadelphia Museum of Art is located not far from the birthplace of Samuel H. Kress, who with his brothers Rush H. Kress and Claude W. Kress was responsible for the Kress benefactions.

Once the decision was made in favor of the Museum, two major tasks had to be solved. The Great Hall, which had remained unfinished since 1928 had to be completed and the tapestries had to be cleaned and restored to as close to their original state as possible.

To accomplish the first of these tasks, the Museum's building program was reoriented to give several years of priority to the Great Hall rehabilitation. The Deputy City Manager, the Planning Commission, the Mayor and City Council were quick to respond to our appeal for Capital Funds for the project and by March 1963 the work was completed with specially designed lighting to illuminate the tapestries.

Meanwhile, the work of restoration was progressing although here we were dealing with a slower and more exacting process. This has been ably supervised by David DuBon, Assistant Curator of Decorative Arts at the Museum. He not only had to determine to which atelier to entrust the tapestries for repair but he has also followed every move with the greatest care and skill. The aim has been to restore where needed in such a manner as to allow the eye to "pass over" a lost or damaged area without noticing the repair and yet to permit the repair to be seen by the expert or scholar. Thus the integrity of the originals has been preserved with meticulous care. The work has extended over five years in ateliers in Italy, France, Belgium and New York City, and, in addition to cleaning and repairing, has included the important strapping and lining of the tapestries to help them withstand the strain of their own very considerable weight. The Samuel H. Kress Foundation has most generously supplied the funds necessary to complete the restoration program and thus prolong the life of this unique set for many future years.

Mr. DuBon's study of the Constantine series and of the designs, cartoons and studies related to it, has been deep and far-searching. His account is the subject of this book, one in a series, which the Kress Foundation is publishing to record its gifts to our museums. We are happy to be in such company. We are also pleased to welcome home six of the tapestries formerly owned by Charles M. Ffoulke of Washington, D.C. These were exhibited at Memorial Hall, the Museum's old building in Fairmount Park, from May 3 to May 23, 1896.

The Philadelphia Museum of Art, its Board of Trustees, its Board of Governors and its Staff express deepest thanks to the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, its Officers and its Staff for the gift which we celebrate and honor between these covers. We remember with special warmth the kindness of Mr. Rush H. Kress, Mr. Guy Emerson, Dr. Franklin D. Murphy, and of Miss Mary M. Davis whose help and interest was unfailing in bringing this project to a successful and distinguished conclusion.

It is also fitting to remember the part which Mr. Mitchell Samuels played in reassembling the tapestries from their location in widely separated collections. Without his help, the occasion we commemorate could not have come to pass.

We are confident that the place we have prepared to receive the Constantine tapestries is worthy of their importance as superb inventions of tapestry design and the weaver's art.

September 1, 1964

HENRI MARCEAU
Director
Philadelphia Museum of Art

INTRODUCTION

The Kress-Barberini tapestries of the *History of Constantine the Great* exist as a unique example in the history of tapestry weaving, having been designed by two major painters, Peter Paul Rubens and Pietro da Cortona. Their importance as works of art is increased by the high quality of the weaving and the preservation of the twelve original major panels.

The tapestries, as well as their designs and the facts surrounding their creation, have until recently been little known. The twelve major panels of tapestry were dispersed in the nineteenth century and not until their acquisition by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation have they been reunited. Presented to the Philadelphia Museum of Art with the dossal of the baldachin, the tapestries again hang as an ensemble.

The Rubens designs for the tapestries have always been known, but little studied because, although they remained together in private collections until the late eighteenth century, at that time the sketches were dispersed, making their inspection and publication more difficult. The studies of the French tapestries woven after the Rubens designs have all been based on the later sets of Constantine tapestries. The original set of tapestries remained in the Barberini Palace in Rome until the nineteenth century, when, like the Rubens sketches, they were dispersed and passed into several private collections. The French panels were included in the publication of the *État général des tapisseries de la manufacture des Gobelins* by Maurice Fenaille in 1923. In the same publication, Jules Guiffrey[1] clarified many facts relating to the Comans-La Planche shop in the Faubourg Saint-Marcel, where the Constantine tapestries were woven, by the assemblage of various documents. The facts surrounding the Italian panels still remained obscure, however. In the important study by Urbano Barberini[2] the facts concerning these tapestries and their cartoons have become known. In the same study, the activity of the Barberini shop also is clarified. Additional material relating to the Barberini factory was published by Adolph Cavallo in 1957.[3] From these studies and a re-evaluation of previously published material the creation of the Constantine tapestries can now be more clearly and accurately followed.

The Rubens designs for the *History of Constantine the Great* tapestries are closely related to the monumental series of paintings executed by Rubens for the new Luxembourg Palace of Marie de' Medici.[4] Rubens was called to Paris in 1622 by the Queen Mother specifically to discuss the proposed cycles to decorate two galleries, one dealing with the life of Marie de' Medici, the other with the life of Henry IV. The first series, now in the Louvre, was completed but the second remained unfinished. It was during this first visit of Rubens to Paris that plans were made for the painter to execute the designs for the Constantine tapestries.

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[1] Guiffrey, Jules, 'Notes et documents sur les origines de la manufacture des Gobelins et sur les autres ateliers Parisiens pendant la première moitié du dix-septième siècle', in: Fenaille, Maurice, *État général des tapisseries de la manufacture des Gobelins depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours*, pp. 1–88. (To be referred to hereafter as: Guiffrey, in Fenaille.)

[2] Barberini, Urbano, 'Pietro da Cortona e l'Arazzeria Barberini', in: *Bollettino d'Arte*, 1950, no. I, January–March, pp. 43–51; no. II, April–June, pp. 145–152. (To be referred to hereafter as: Barberini.)

[3] Cavallo, Adolph, 'Notes on the Barberini Tapestry Manufactory at Rome', in: *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, Spring 1957, pp. 17–26.

[4] The Medici galleries are discussed in all of the major publications, cf. especially, Evers, Hans Gerhard, *Peter Paul Rubens*, pp. 267–278; Simson, Otto G. von, *Zur Genealogie der weltlichen Apotheose im Barock, besonders der Medici galerie des P. P. Rubens*, especially pp. 245–391; Grossmann, Karl, *Der Gemäldezyklus der Galerie der Maria von Medici von Peter Paul Rubens*; Puyvelde, Leo van, *Rubens*, pp. 136–141; Evers, Hans Gerhard, *Rubens und sein Werk*, pp. 299–316. Evers, *Peter Paul Rubens*, note 236, cites additional literature.

The reason for the choice of Rubens by the Queen Mother for these most important works is not known. Certainly, the painter's fame had spread all over Europe, but there were also personal connections with Marie de' Medici. Rubens had been in the retinue of Vincenzo I Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, at the marriage of the Medici princess in Florence just after he entered the service of the Duke. The Duchess of Mantua, Eleanora, was also the sister of the Queen Mother. In addition, there were close ties with the Spanish regents of the Netherlands, the Archduke Albert and Archduchess Isabella, who had named Rubens their court painter on his return from Italy. Indeed, on his way to Paris Rubens stopped at the court in Brussels for a gift to be taken by him to the Queen Mother.[5] It has been suggested that the Flemish ambassador in Paris, Henry de Vicq, may have been responsible for the choice of Rubens for the monumental undertaking.[6]

Rubens' direct contact with France began through correspondence with the French scholar Nicholas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc.[7] The long friendship began in 1619 when Peiresc helped to obtain a copyright in France for Rubens' engravings[8] which resulted in the *privilège* dated July 3, 1619, and signed by Louis XIII.[9] The earliest correspondence was concerned with their mutual interest in cameos and engraved gems but later embraced many fields of interest to both men. Although many of the Rubens letters have unfortunately not come down to us, the Peiresc letters provide an invaluable source for all matters dealing with Rubens' Paris activity. It is in a letter dated December 23, 1621, only two months after Peiresc's first letter to Rubens, that the French scholar informs Rubens that the Queen Mother wishes the Flemish painter to enrich her new palace.[10] Rubens arrived in Paris before January 11, 1622,[11] in order to negotiate and make plans for the Luxembourg galleries. The arrangements were concluded with a contract for the paintings dated February 26, 1622.[12] The painter returned to Antwerp in the last days of February to begin work on the preliminary sketches.[13] Rubens returned to Paris in June 1623 with nine of the sketches and again in February 1625 to install the finished paintings in the gallery of Marie de' Medici. The correspondence between the two friends from 1621 to 1623 when Peiresc left Paris continues to be about a variety of subjects of mutual interest, but of greatest importance here are the references to the new gallery and the tapestries. In these letters Peiresc acted as intermediary between Claude Maugis, the Abbé de St. Ambroise, who was the Queen Mother's treasurer and adviser and directly responsible for the Luxembourg gallery, and Rubens, conveying the wishes of Marie de' Medici and Maugis to the painter.[14]

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[5] Rooses, Max, and Charles Ruelens, *Correspondance de Rubens et documents épistolaires concernant sa vie et ses oeuvres*, vol. II, p. 324. (To be referred to hereafter as Rooses-Ruelens.)

[6] This suggestion has been made in Rooses-Ruelens, vol. II, pp. 323 f.; Ris, L. Clément de, 'Claude Maugis', in: *Les amateurs d'autrefois*, p. 83; and Burckhardt, Jacob, *Recollections of Rubens*, p. 10; Simson, Otto G. von, 'Richelieu and Rubens', in: *Review of Politics*, vol. 6, October, 1944, pp. 427–428. That there is no documentary evidence to support this theory has been pointed out by Grossmann, *op. cit.*, p. 12, and Hevesey, André de, 'Rubens à Paris', in: *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, vol. 34, August, 1948, pp. 89–106.

[7] The earliest publication of the Rubens correspondence was in 1840 and since that time many additional letters have been published. In addition to the Rooses-Ruelens, Magurn, Ruth Saunders, *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, in the preface gives a summary of the publications and Arents, Prosper, *Geschriften van en over Rubens*, pp. 25–49, lists a full bibliography of the Rubens correspondence.

[8] Magurn, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

[9] Reproduced in Rooses-Ruelens, vol. II, pp. 208–209.

[10] . . . *la Regina Madre l'haveva mandata preggere di volere inricchire il suo palazzo nuovo di qualche sua pittura.* (Rooses-Ruelens, vol. II, pp. 319 ff.)

[11] A letter of Peiresc to Girolamo Aleandro of this date states that Rubens is in Paris (Rooses-Ruelens, vol. II, p. 133).

[12] Contract in Hevesey, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[13] In a letter of March 7, 1622, from Peiresc to Aleandro, Peiresc states that Rubens has left Paris and will return when he has completed eight or ten paintings. (Rooses-Ruelens, vol. II, pp. 340 ff.)

It was during the first visit of Rubens to Paris in January and February 1622 that arrangements were made for the design of the Constantine tapestries.[15] Undoubtedly there was a contract drawn up for the project, but no record remains of such a document. It is generally believed that Louis XIII ordered the sketches,[16] but no documentation for this statement has been advanced and no suggestions have been made as to the capacity in which the King might have ordered the sketches; that is, as a private collector or as the patron of the Saint-Marcel shop. An examination of the correspondence of Rubens directly after Rubens' first visit to Paris indicates a close relationship between the painter and François de La Planche and Marc de Comans, co-directors of the Saint-Marcel shop in Paris – a relationship which suggests the possibility that the tapestry designs may have been ordered, either directly or indirectly, by the Saint-Marcel shop.

From a letter of July 1622 from Peiresc to Rubens,[17] it is known that Rubens had made the acquaintance of La Planche and probably Comans during his first visit to Paris in 1622. In this letter Peiresc speaks of taking a letter from Rubens to La Planche and also of a tapestry which Peiresc had ordered from the shop. The tapestry is mentioned in subsequent letters[18] and in one of late August, Peiresc speaks of a payment of 500 livres which Rubens has requested,[19] referring perhaps to a payment for the Constantine sketches.

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14. Numerous letters from this period attest to this position of Maugis and Peiresc; in one – that of March 31, 1622 – Peiresc speaks of 'your commission with the Abbé de St. Ambroise' (Rooses-Ruelens, vol. II, pp. 355 ff.), cf. also Ris, *op. cit.*, passim.

15. The literature on the Rubens sketches for the Constantine tapestries is very sparse. They are mentioned in Evers, *Peter Paul Rubens*, p. 258, Puyvelde, *op. cit.*, pp. 141 f., note 138, Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 110, Puyvelde, Leo van, *Les esquisses de Rubens*, pp. 24–25; Rooses, Max, *L'oeuvre de P. P. Rubens, l'histoire de Constantin*, vol. 3, pp. 210–220, nos. 718–729.

For the tapestries cf. Fenaille, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 245–255; Guiffrey, in Fenaille, pp. 7, 12, 16, passim, Göbel, Heinrich, *Wandteppiche*, vol. I, pp. 424–425, vol. II, pp. 77–78; Barberini; Ackerman, Phyllis, 'Rubens' Constantine Tapestries', in: *International Studio*, vol. 79, June, 1924, pp. 195–200; Viale, Mercedes and Vittorio, *Arazzi e Tappeti Antichi*, pp. 88–92.

16. Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 110 suggests Marie de' Medici.

17. . . . Ho mandato la sua lettera al S^{r} della Planche et questa sera il S^{r} Colmans suo socio mi e venuto a portare la risposta qui aggionta la quale ha dissigillata e ressigillata nella mia stanza per vedere se suo socio non s'era scordato di certo particolar di che l'haveva pregato et dirmi che volontieri haverebbe sborzato la partita di 500 franchi havendo egli assonto la cura di certa tapezzaria ch'io gli haveva ordinata, quando V. S. era qui et che doveva essere finita questo Settembre, . . . (quoted from Rooses-Ruelens, vol. II, p. 467).

In the *commentaire* to this letter (p. 472) La Planche is identified as: '*Raphael de la Planche, trésorier des bâtiments du roi*' and director of the Saint-Germain tapestry factory which is, of course, incorrect as that factory did not come into existence until several years later. Clearly, Peiresc is referring to François de La Planche. 'Colmans' is identified as an *amateur* although he can be no one other than Marc de Comans, for his relationship to La Planche is described as *suo socio*. Ludwig Burchard in the catalogue of the Rubens exhibition in London, 1950 (*A Loan Exhibition of works by Peter Paul Rubens, Kt.* . . . , October 4th–November 11th, 1950, p. 21), has noted this error in Rooses-Ruelens.

18. In a letter of August 4, 1622 (Rooses-Ruelens, vol. III, pp. 12 ff.), Peiresc comments on a letter previously received from Rubens.

19. Letter of August 25, 1622 (Rooses-Ruelens, vol. III, pp. 21 ff.) – ' . . . , *egli mi mandò a dire ch'egli m'haverebbe fatto sborzare subito la somma di 500 ₶ che V. S. gli scriveva disborzare, . . .*'

The first four of the sketches arrived in Paris by November 24.[20] The titles of these designs are known from the letter written after Peiresc had inspected the sketches: the *Battle of the Milvian Bridge*, the *Campaign against Licinius, Land Battle*, the *Baptism of Constantine* and the *Apparition of the Monogram of Christ.* Peiresc did not inspect them until several days later. He wrote to Rubens on December 1:

We saw the 4 cartoons which you have prepared for the tapestries; I was accompanied by MM. de Loménie, de Fourcy, de Saint-Ambroise, de la Baroderie, Jacquin et Dunot, who are nearly all of those the King charges to inspect the public works. They had fixed a day to open the cases in the presence of the majority of the inspectors, with orders to return the cartoons to the cases until His Majesty arrives because he must be the first to see them. I did not wish to refuse the invitation and my presence there was not useless. You have written to me explaining the subjects whereas the others knew only that the general subject was the Life of Constantine. I could then explain each of the compositions to them. They greatly admired your profound knowledge of antique costumes and the exactitude with which you have rendered even the nails of the boots on one of the followers of Maxentius.

You are obliged to the Abbot (de Saint-Ambroise) because he has praised your work in the most enthusiastic terms. I advise you to send your thanks to him. M. de la Baroderie, who is an excellent judge of fine things, has also rendered justice to you with strong conviction and good reasons. He impressed all those present with his opinion and they were very satisfied. Our meeting was not secret and many people were there by chance; the new archbishop of Paris and others who had come to buy tapestries or see your cartoons. Among those present were those bold and envious critics who are taken to criticize the smallest things. Everyone was obliged to acknowledge that the works were those of a great man and an exalted genius and even if they were executed by your students, not a painter in France could hope to create a similar work.

Of the four cartoons, that of the baptism has won the highest acclaim, no one has found a detail to criticize and all of the parts have been admired. The Apparition, which was much to my liking because of the exact rendering of the antique military costumes, found many critics, but only in the way that you bend the legs instead of making them straight according to custom. I recall clearly that you said to me once in relation to the curve of the legs of 'Moze di Firminet' and of Saint Paul that in nature this effect is certainly real, and the critics cannot deny the truth of this observation. They answered, however, that it is the result of a defect or a national characteristic because it is from countries where all are bandy-legged and one cannot generalize. Sculptors of antiquity have proscribed this form; Michelangelo, Raphael, Correggio, Titian have done the same. It seems then that it is necessary to banish it again today. A manner entirely different cannot fail to surprise the eyes accustomed to the lines of the masters.

Your cartoons have amazed everyone, with the exception of this peculiarity which cannot be enjoyed in our race and if you will excuse the advice of your servant, you can reconcile yourself to this complaint in the future. The painters of Ethiopia represent the Madonna with a black face, but if Michelangelo or Raphael painted the figures with twisted legs they would also be criticized. If, in the paintings of the gallery you do not decide to make the postures natural, and make them with curved legs, you will receive little satisfaction, considering those who do not like that which is contrary to their sensibility. The Egyptians who were nearly all bandy-legged give this flaw to their figures and would, I think, find deformed all which differed. Our minor French masters are the same.

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[20] In his letter of November 24 (Rooses-Ruelens, vol. III, pp. 78 ff.) Peiresc states that he started out to go to 'Sgr Colmans' to see the sketches, but that he was detained.

Comparatively few preliminary drawings are known for the Constantine series as well as the other cycles of the twenties. Julius Held has noted this lack of drawings (*Rubens Selected Drawings*, pp. 74–75). For the seven Kress-Barberini panels there are two drawings which may be connected with the designs (cf. catalogue entry for the *Marriage of Constantine*). For the Rubens designs for the Constantine series, but not in the seven Kress-Barberini panels, two drawings may be associated with the *Triumph of Rome*, one in Vienna and one in Berlin (Held, *op. cit.*, nos. 49, 52). For the *Campaign against Licinius, Land Battle*, one drawing is known (Puyvelde, Leo van, 'On Rubens Drawings', in: *Burlington Magazine*, October, 1940, pp. 123–127) now in the collection of B. C. R. Nicholl. I am indebted to Michael Jaffé for his efforts in locating this drawing.

On the cartoon of the battle, they were astonished at the figure of Licinius or the person who fights Constantine, and at the dead figure under his horse, the whole composition has produced astonishment. It seems, however, that Constantine brandishing his javelin could have a little more life in the movement. Then, they do not believe the arm which hurls the javelin has been well drawn by the painter (the right arm, although on the tapestry cartoon, it would be the left arm); it has the appearance of being a little dislocated and not having a natural movement. It is for this reason that they have criticized another leg which is again a little more curved and does not please the critics.

In the large cartoon of the broken bridge, a great number of things have been admired, above all the two soldiers hanging by their hands; the wounded man who holds himself by one hand appears quite excellent, but the proportions of the suspended thigh have been criticized. The other, who hangs by two hands, has been found superb, but again a small fault has been criticized, one thigh is more elongated than the other. They would like you to retouch these two parts.

You have wished that I make a frank report to you. I would have been lacking in this obligation if I had concealed the details. I am sure, in favor of my feeling and opinion, that I profess that friends cannot lack but to render like service to one another. Surely, I salute you with all my heart.[21]

[21] Nel resto poi habbiamo veduto li quattro cartoni delle tapezzerie accennati da lei in compagnia delli SS^{ri} de Lomenie, de Fourcy, di S^{t} Ambrosio, della Baroderie, Jacquin et Dunot, quasi tutti di que' che hanno carico del Re sopra le opere publiche. Era ordinata l'apertura delle casse un giorno preciso, che si dovessero essere la maggior parte di que' signori, con ordine che si rincassassero subito li cartoni sino all' arrivo di S. M. senza che niusciuno le potesse vedere che S. M. non gli havesse visti prima. Di modo ch'io non volsi mancar di trovarmi all' assignatione, il che non fu inutile poiche V. S. m'haveva scritto il particolare delli soggietti, che se ben gli altri sapevano in generale che erano della Vita di Constantino, nulladimeno non sapevano il particolare di ciascheduna historia ch'io gli andai esponendo, non senza admiratione dell' esatezza di V. S. in esprimere gli habiti antiqui, sino alle clavi delle caligheh ch'io vidi con grandissimo gusto, sotto il piede d'un cavaliere seguitante Maxentio.

V. S. ha grand' obligo al S^{r} Abbate della raccommandatione ch'egli fece dell' opera in termini di grandiss^{o} ardore, et le consiglio di fargliene due righe di ringratiamento sopra la mia relatione. Il S^{r} de la Baroderie ancora che ha buoniss^{a} notitia delle cose buone, la servii con grandiss^{o} affetto et con fortisse ragioni, che sono di grand' authorita appresso tutti quei Signori; ognuno ne resto sodisfattiss^{o}. Et si come non si pote far l'assemblea tanto secreta che non vi si incontrassero molte persone, o venute a caso con l'arcivescovo nuovo di Parigi, o con altri SS^{ri} ch'andavano per comprar tappezzarie, o a posta per veder le sue opere, cosi fra esse non mancarono lingue temerarie et invidiose che se recavano a mordere a qualche cosuccia. Ma furono costretti tutti di confessare che l'opera veniva da grand huomo et da genio nobilissimo et che nello stato ch'ella era, se ben non era che di suoi servitori, non era pittore in Francia, che potesse sperare d'arrivare a cosa simile de gran lunga. Sopra li tutti quattro cartoni fu stimato quello del battesimo, nel quale niusciuno trovò a mordere qualsi voglia minutia, anzi fu ammirato in tutte le sue parti. L'allocutione che era molto a mio gusto per l'esattezza degli habiti militari antiqui trovo molti contradittori, non per altro che per quella maniera delle gambe (non dritte secondo l'usanza commune) ma delineate in arco. Io mi ricordo ben di ciò che V. S. mi disse in proposito del bell' arco delle gambe di quel Moze di Firminet et di quel St Paolo, che la natura faceva sicuramente quell' effetto in apparenza, et questi contradittori non possono negare la verita dell'effetto della natura. Ma dicono che questo e piu tosto un poco di diffetto o di certe nationi (como di que' ch'erano tutti Blesis pedibus o forzi generale) et che poi che l'hanno vietato gli scultori antiqui, et Michael Angelo, et Raphaele, et il Corregio et il Titiano par che si habbia di vietare ancora hoggidi. Et che gli occhi avvezzi a questa osservatione, non possono senza estendersi vedere maniera tanto diversa.

Fuora di questo particolare, le sue opere sarebbono viste con stuppore di ogni uno, (ben) che questo non e al gusto di questa nostra natione, et se V. S. vuol udire il consiglio di suo servitore, ella s'accomodara per l'avvenire alla malattia delli nostri occhi. Come li pittori d'Ethiopia che fanno la Madonna con la facie nigra alla Moresca, che quando Michael Angelo et Raphaele verrebbono hoggidi a far qui pitture con figure ch'avessero le gambe a questo modo, sarebbono costretti di sentire, ogni momento, infinite contradittioni per questo particolare. Ee se nelli quadri della Galleria, V. S. non si risolve di cercare positioni naturali in ogni altro sito che in quello dove apparisce l'arco e cosa certissima che V. S. n'havera mala sodisfattione havendo da far con questi cervellini avvezzi a cosa diversa al lor parere. Gli Egittj antiqui, li quali erano quasi tutti Blesi, davano la medesima positura alle lor figure, et credo che le haverebbono trovato difformi senza quel diffetto. Cosi fanno nostri Francesi libertini.

Nel cartone della Bataglia furono visto con stupore la figura di Licinio o altro che combatte contra Constantino, et un morto che giace sotto suo cavallo, et tutta la dispositione intiera. Ma non parve che corrispondesse l'atto di Constantino nel vibrar il jaculo con un poco minor vivacita di quello ch'averebbono desiderato, et non volsero credere, che il pittore havesse ben seguitato il dissegno del braccio (che deve esser il dritto benche la tappezzaria habbia obligato a farne il sinistro) che vibra il jaculo, come se fosse un tantino dislocato, et fuor

Several letters passed between the friends in December; in one, Rubens explains the compositions of the four sketches.[22]

In the first two months of 1623 the letters passing between the two friends continued to be concerned with discussions of the antique and the Medici gallery. A new subject was introduced, however, in a letter from Peiresc of January 13; Rubens' plan to immigrate to Paris.[23] The writer speaks of his pleasure that Rubens is attentive to the propositions which have been offered to him in Paris. He also says that 'Sgr. Colmans' (Marc de Comans) has told him of Rubens' plan to immigrate to France and relates his discussion with Comans. On January 26, Peiresc speaks of the 'proposal' of Comans in vague terms[24] and again on February 9 the scholar says he hopes for 'success in the negotiations with Comans for which all necessary steps will have been taken'.[25] Later in the month, Peiresc mentions the negotiations, but this time in connection with La Planche.[26] Just what these negotiations with Comans and

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della vera positura naturale; et questo fu quanto vi fu trovato a dire ch'a Constantino qualche altra gamba piu ritorta che non gli piace a loro.

Nel maggiore della rovina del Ponte furono ammirate infinite cose et principalmente quelle due figure sospese alle lor mani, l'una ferita che si sospende con una sola mano, che mi par del tutto excellente et inimitabile (alle quale nondimeno volsero improvare alcuni la proportione della coxa che pende giù) et l'altra che s'attacca alle due mani, laquale fu ancora essaminata con stuppore, ma ci trovarono ancora qualche cosuccia, in una coxa, che pende piu bassa dell'altra, dove vorrebbono che V. S. havesse rittocato et dato una botta di sua mano a ciascheduna in quelle parti.

V. S. ha voluto ch'io le dicessi con liberta tutto ciò che le importava, io haverei creduto di mancar al debito, s'io le havessi celato que' particolari. Son ben sicuro che V. S. scusera l'affetto che mi ci ha mosso, et l'opinione ch'io tengo che gli amici non devono mancare a questi officii sopra ogni altro. Et qui per fine le baccio di cuore le mani. Di Pariggi, alli I Decemb. 1622 (quoted from Rooses-Ruelens, vol. III, pp. 83 ff.).

[22] Peiresc to Rubens, December 8, 15, 22, 30, 1622 (Rooses-Ruelens, vol. III, pp. 94 ff., 98 ff., 102 f., 105 ff.). Peiresc states in the letter of the 22nd that he has received Rubens' letter of the 16th in which he justifies his compositions.

[23] Io mi son rallegrato sommamente di vedere ch'ella presta l'orecchia alle propositioni di mutar aria, di che io sarei molto fiero, potendo riuscire. Et se non torniamo alla guerra questa primavera, io credo che la cosa si potrebbe sperare con qualche sua sodisfactione. Due giorni prima ch'io ricevessi la sua lettera, incontrai il S^{r} Colmans, il quale mi confesso d'havere i dissegni dei Cartoni et mi promesse di farmegli vedere, ma non ho potuto far quel viaggio, che e lungo come sa V. S. benche nell' istezza citta, per un huomo intriggato in liti. Egli congionse che V. S. pensava a detta peregrinatione e transmigratione con occasione dell' impresa del principe Mauritio, io replicai che se le ne fosse fatta grande instanza forzi ch'ella vi potrebbe inclinare ma ch'io non crederei facilmente, ch'ella potesse lasciare i parenti, la patria, e tante commodita ch'ella haveva costa, et che in mia presenza il defunto S^{r} de Vic le haveva fatto qualche motto a questo proposito, senza ch'ella vi potesse condescendere, quanto all' impresa che era cosa di troppo difficile riuscita per haverne paura. In somma io rimessi il tutto in termini di reputatione, et dissi tutto cio che potei immaginarmene per sua commendatione et per movere a fare ogni sforzo per disporla a voler venire. Arrivo S. M^{ta} Martedy hieri solamente si fermo il primo consiglio de negocii di stato dove fu S. M^{ta} et il contestabile con il cancelliere etc. Il Re sene va domani a S. Germain et in breve saremo chiariti se la pace dovera durare o nò, et caso de si cercaremo i mezzi convenevoli per l'apposta di sua vocatione ma fin alla hora non vorrei consigliar di tentarla con l'incertitudine presente. Mi disse ancora il Colmans che non se portarebbono altramente li cartoni al Louvre, il che lodai, et credo che sara meglio di non farne tanto ciasso per ancora finche vengha altra cosa.

Le teste dovevano essere levate hoggi da carettoni, ma non sono ancor venuti et poi con somma fretta fo fine. Di Pariggi alli 13 Jan. 1623.

Mi scrivono da Roma che il Spalatense haveva fatto nuova et piu ampia abjuratione in mano del Card^{e} Bandini capo della Congregatione del S. Offizio havendo confessato dallo stato heretico et dannato una per una tutte l'oppinioni che ha tenute. Et gia si e assonto di scrivere contra li proprii scritti comminciando da un consilium reditus per opposto a quello della profectione. Il papa gli ha restituito l'habito episcopale, l'ha ricevuto benignamente et gli ha assegnato provisione per vivere (quoted from Rooses-Ruelens, vol. III, pp. 114 ff.).

[24] Quanto alla proposta del S^{r} Colmans, io haveva ben giudicato cio che poteva esser dell' intento di V. S. et vorrei che mi costasse gran cosa et potere condurre il negocio all' optato fine, assicurandola che mi ci impieghero con tutto l'animo (quoted from Rooses-Ruelens, vol. III, p. 120).

[25] . . . , sperando che la vista delli quadri fara subito riuscire il neg^{o} del S^{r} Còlmans a che tentaremo di far i preparativi necessarij . . . (quoted from Rooses-Ruelens, vol. III, p. 127).

La Planche concerned is certainly not clear, but that they had some connection with Rubens' proposed immigration to Paris seems possible; perhaps Rubens was going to act in some capacity for the Comans-La Planche shop.[27]

Some time in the early part of January 1623 other Rubens sketches for the Constantine tapestries arrived in Paris, delivered to Comans as were the first four. The letter of Peiresc of January 13 does not state the number, but they may well have been the remainder of those agreed upon – they are referred to as 'the designs for the cartoons'.[28] The only mention of these tapestries in Rubens' own letters is in one of February 26, 1626, to the Sieur de Valavez:

> I regret to learn from the letters of M. de la Planche that there appears to be no inclination to pay the remainder of the sum due me for those tapestry cartoons I did in the service of His Majesty. M. de Fourcy and M. Katelin are clearly not men of their word.[29]

In what sense the sketches were made for Louis XIII is not clear either from this letter or from other sources. As has been assumed, the sketches may have been a personal commission or they may have been commissioned by the King specifically for the use of the shop. The first tapestries from the designs – the seven Kress-Barberini panels – were ordered and paid for by the King, but immediately afterward other sets were woven from the Rubens designs which may indicate a commission for the shop. There are numerous documents attesting to the position of the King as patron of the shop: in one, of 1603, Comans and La Planche are called '*directeurs de la fabricque de tapisseries du Roy*'[30] and in another, La Planche is called one of the directors of the '*Manufactures de tappisseries façon de Flandre qui se font en France pour le service du Roy*.'[31] If the sketches had been a personal commission of the King, would they have remained in the possession of the shop after the completion of the tapestries?[32] Perhaps they were thought of in the sense of being merely 'patterns'; the *douze petitz desseings* are only valued at 1,200 livres[33] while the nine-panel Constantine *tenture* is valued at 48,768 livres 15.[34] It must also be recalled that in the Peiresc letter informing Rubens of the views of those who had inspected the cartoons, these men are called 'those whom the King has charged with the inspection of *public works*'.

Although the question of the commission of the Constantine tapestry designs cannot be resolved

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[26] . . . Dell' altro negocio vedero di gettargliene qualche parola a traverso per vedere il suo genio, et di condurlo con un poco piu rispetto che il Sr De la Planche, (per) che non vorrei che il mio zelo passasse ad inconsideratione et le fosse nocivo . . . (quoted from Rooses-Ruelens, vol. III, p. 131).

[27] The context in which the words *proposizione* and *negocio* are used would seem to eliminate any reference to other conceivable matters such as the payment for the Constantine sketches or the purchase of tapestries by Rubens.

[28] Cf. the letter of January 13, note 23.

[29] . . . Mi dispiace d'intendere per lettere de Mr de la Planche, che non ci e apparenza d'esser pagato di quel resto, che si mi deve per quei cartoni di tapessaria fatti per servicio de Sua Maestà, certo che Mr de Fourcy ne M. Katelin non sono huomini della lor parola; . . . (quoted from Rooses-Ruelens, vol. III, p. 431).

The Sieur de Valavez was Peiresc's brother with whom Rubens corresponded after Peiresc left Paris.

[30] Guiffrey, in Fenaille, vol. I, p. 32.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

[32] Cf. following note of listing of the sketches in the 1627 inventory.

[33] Item douze petitz desseings peintz en huille sur des planches de bois, de la main de Pierre Paul Rubens, représentant *l'Histoire de Constantin*, prisé à raison de 100 ₶ pièce . . . 1,200 ₶ (quoted from Guiffrey, in Fenaille, p. 46).

[34] Cf. note 76.

until further evidence is advanced, the possibility of their being commissioned specifically for the Saint-Marcel shop rather than as a private commission must be considered.

The Rubens designs in the form of small oil sketches on panel were received then in Paris in November 1622 and January 1623, with some perhaps delivered later. Although the series as woven has always consisted of twelve tapestries there are thirteen sketches in existence. The twelve tapestries as woven on the French looms subsequent to the original seven-panel Kress-Barberini set are:

1. *The Marriage of Constantine.*
2. *The Apparition of the Monogram of Christ.*
3. *The Labarum.*
4. *The Battle of the Milvian Bridge.*
5. *The Entry into Rome.*
6. *The Trophy.*
7. *The Baptism of Constantine.*
8. *Constantine and Crispus.*
9. *The Campaign against Licinius, Land Battle.*
10. *Saint Helena and the True Cross.*
11. *The Building of Constantinople.*
12. *The Death of Constantine.*[35]

The thirteenth Rubens sketch, which has never been woven, is that of the *Triumph of Rome*. It must therefore be assumed that the *Triumph of Rome* was rejected as a tapestry design and the 'Death' added.[36] This panel must have been painted before 1625 as the design was one of the seven panels presented to Cardinal Francesco Barberini by Louis XIII in that year.

After the substitution of the 'Death' panel for the *Triumph of Rome*, the designs were then prepared for the loom. Full-scale cartoons were executed from which the weaver worked directly and which were used not only for the original Kress-Barberini set but also for later sets. These large cartoons are itemized in the 1627 inventory with an evaluation of 500 livres while the Rubens panels are evaluated at 1,200 livres.[37] These cartoons were painted by a worker attached to the shop for such purposes.

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[35] Cf. Fenaille, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 247–255 for titles in other sets.

[36] The present locations of the oil sketches for the seven Kress-Barberini panels are noted in the catalogue entries. The locations of the remaining six panels, reproduced below on Plates 64–69 are:

The Apparition of the Monogram of Christ, The John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia.
The Labarum, H. E. M. Benn, Haslemere.
The Trophy, H. E. M. Benn, Haslemere.
Constantine and Crispus, H. E. M. Benn, Haslemere.
The Campaign against Licinius, Land Battle, Nelson Gallery–Atkins Museum, Kansas City.
The Triumph of Rome, Mauritshuis, The Hague.

Fenaille (*op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 245, note 3) states that Jules Guiffrey believed the 'Death' not to have been painted by Rubens. The suggestion in the text has also been made in the catalogue of the Rubens exhibition, Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, 1953 (p. 63).

[37] Ensuict les desseins peintz à destrampe sur papier trouvez aud. hostel des Canayes: Premièrement douze pièces de l'*Histoire de Constantin*, garnyes de leur bordure en pappier, prisez .. .. 500 ₶
(Quoted from Guiffrey, in Fenaille, p. 46.)–See note 33 also.

The borders of the Constantine tapestries were also designed in the shop. Rubens did not design the borders for the Constantine series and the 1617–1618 *History of Decius Mus* series. In the later series of the *Triumph of the Eucharist* and the *History of Achilles* the borders were included in Rubens' designs.

In June 1623, Rubens delivered nine of the sketches for the Marie de' Medici gallery to the Queen Mother. While in Paris he undoubtedly visited the Comans-La Planche shop where the large cartoons were completed or in the process of being executed. Perhaps the first of the tapestries were on the looms in the largest and most important atelier in the Saint-Marcel shop, the *boutique d'or*, directed by the master weavers Filippe Maëcht and Hans Taye. Less than two years later, in February 1625, Rubens was again in Paris, with the completed paintings of the Marie de' Medici cycle. From February through May he put the final brush strokes on the paintings and installed them in the gallery at the Luxembourg Palace. At this time about half of the Constantine panels were completed, and almost certainly Rubens visited François de La Planche and Marc de Comans at their atelier to inspect the tapestries which he had designed.

During this visit Rubens probably witnessed the entry into Paris on the 21st of May of Cardinal Francesco Barberini, who was later to receive from Louis XIII the gift of seven of the Constantine panels. The Cardinal came as papal legate under orders from his uncle, Urban VIII, to negotiate with the King over the Valtelline controversy.[38] The papal legation left Rome on the 17th of March arriving in Paris May 21[39] and was received by Paris with all the grandeur and pomp that a formal 'entry' or reception could provide. The occasion was important for Rubens because he wished to meet several of the legate's distinguished retinue: Girolamo Aleandro, Cassiano del Pozzo, the Cardinal's secretary, and Giovanni Doni, all men of great learning.[40] Rubens left Paris in late May or early June with the Medici cycle installed in the Luxembourg and everyone pleased with the decoration. The papal party remained in Paris, however. The laborious Valtelline negotiations continued for three months, but produced no results and a decision was made to depart. In the last days before departing, formal farewell visits were made by the Cardinal. On the 20th of September the King received the Cardinal in private, and the following day in official, audience. The evening of the day before the departure, Francesco Barberini visited the Cardinal Richelieu. Returning to his suite he found an unexpected tapestry panel hanging on the wall. In the words of Cassiano del Pozzo:

> Returning to our rooms, we found Monsieur di Bonoil (master of ceremonies to Louis XIII, attached to the person of the legate) who was waiting there with the secretary of Monsieur Leancourt to present on the part of the King and the other Majesty eight pieces of tapestry woven with gold and silk with the history of the life of Constantine after designs of Rubens, of which they had already hung the one in which was represented the Baptism of the Emperor. The Lord Cardinal although appreciative of the remembrance of His Majesty, however, returned (the gift) notwithstanding the insistence of Bonoil, excusing himself by saying that he held orders of His Holiness not

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[38] The Valtelline region formed a natural gateway through the Alps from Italy and in consequence was of strategic importance to France, Spain, Austria and Venice. After a religious massacre in 1620 in which many Protestants were killed, the region for the next twenty years was held at times by the Spaniards, the French and the Pope. The Pope was named arbiter and it was for these negotiations that Francesco Barberini came to Paris.

[39] This account of the visit to Paris of Francesco Barberini is taken from Barberini, pp. 45–47.

[40] Rubens expresses this wish in a letter to Peiresc, May 13, 1625 (Magurn, *op. cit.*, pp. 107 ff.).

> to accept anything at all. Then came the Count di Brion, son of the Duchess of Ventadour, as well as the Cardinal of Valletta, who came to insist that my Lord Cardinal accept these tapestries . . .[41]

The seven panels[42] had been ordered by the King as evidenced by the royal arms of France in the left border and the arms of Navarre in the right border with the crown above and the scepter behind the arms. The price paid by the King was 70 livres per square ell.[43] It can be assumed that Louis XIII ordered the complete set, but at the time of the gift only seven panels were completed.

The Cardinal was undoubtedly impressed with such a royal gift and was not blind to the value of the addition to his collection. Wishing not to offend the King, the gift was accepted. On the 24th of September the papal legation departed after the Cardinal offered his gratitude to the King for the royal gift. Arriving at Fontainebleau Francesco Barberini dispatched a report, relative to the gift:

> Monsieur di Bonoglio on the part of the King presented to me very beautiful hangings of tapestry valued, so it is said, at ten thousand scudi. I professed myself most appreciative to His Majesty but refused the gift, excusing myself by saying I was under orders from His Holiness not to accept gifts in my legation; and citing the example of the Cardinal de' Medici, who, I have been told, accepted a gift of small value. This was my answer, but perceiving then that His Majesty appeared disappointed and not wishing that my refusal might indicate a haughty departure, I judged it best to change, and accepted the gift. . . .[44]

In a second account to Rome from Fontainebleau of the same date the Cardinal expresses the feelings of good will at the time of his departure:

> On the part of His Majesty, I was given some hangings of tapestry; and I thank God at having taken my departure in the good graces of the King and Queen and even of the Court.[45]

Upon his return to Rome the Cardinal began to make plans for his new tapestry atelier. While in Paris he had probably visited the Comans-La Planche shop and possibly the plans for his new shop in

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[41] Tornato alle stanze trovamo Monsu di Bonoil che era quivi, cò il segretario di Monsu di Leancourt ad aspettarlo per presentarli da parte del Re e di quell'altre Maestà otto pezzi di arazzo tessuti con oro e seta con istorie attinenti alla vita di Costantino di disegno del Rubens, de' quali nhavevano già attaccato uno nella camera cioè quello nel quale era espresso il Battesimo dell'Imperatore. Ringratiò il Signor Cardinale della memoria che si compiaceva tener di lui Sua Maestà rimandandoli a dreto non ostante che Bonoil vi adoperasse termini rettorici per persuaderlo ad accettarli scusandosi esso, con dir di tener ordine da Sua Santità di non accettare cosa alcuna. Venne di poi il Conte di Brion figlio della Duchessa di Ventadour sopraggiungendo il Cardinale della Valletta, qual dicono venisse per vedere che il Signore Cardinale accettasse quegli arazzi (quoted from Barberini, pp. 46–47). Another less detailed account by Cesare Malagotti is also published by Barberini, p. 47.

[42] The number of tapestries in the original gift – eight – does not correspond with the number as itemized in the 1649 inventory – seven – (cf. pp. 22–25). The notation of eight has been considered to be an incorrect notation by Barberini (pp. 49–50) but in the 1627 Saint-Marcel inventory listing of the panels of the Constantine series (cf. note 78) one panel is designated as remaining from the *tenture* given to 'M. le Légat'. By comparing the dimensions of this panel with those of the nine-panel set itemized in the same inventory, it can be assumed that the single panel must have been the 'Trophy' or the *Labarum* (both the same width and corresponding to the width of the single panel, cf. note 76). It then appears that the original gift probably consisted of eight panels, but that for some reason – perhaps one was not finished – only seven were taken by the Cardinal to Rome.

[43] Cf. note 48.

[44] Intanto Monsù di Bonoglio da parte del Re mi presentò una tappezzaria d'arazzi molto bella e di valore, per quanto si dice, di diecimila scudi. Io me professai obligatissimo alla Maestà Sua, ma ricusai di riceverla scusandomi di tener ordine di Sua Beatitudine, di non accettar doni nella mia legatione; et allegando l'esempio del Cardinale de Medici, il quale, mi vien riferto che accettò regalo di poca valuta. Questa fu la mia risposta, ma scorgendo poi, che Sua Maestà ne rimaneva disgustata e non volendo io che 'l mio rifiuto indicasse partenza disdegnosa, giudicai miglior il mutar parere, ed accettar il dono (quoted from Barberini, p. 47).

[45] Da Sua Maestà, sono stato regalato d'una tappezzaria d'arrazzi; e ringrazio Dio d'essermi partito con buona grazia del Re e Regina e parmi anche della Corte (quoted from Barberini, p. 47).

Rome were influenced by this contact. In less than two years after the Cardinal's return, in September 1627, appeared the first of the documents relating to the design of the Castles series.[46] This series was nearing completion in 1630 and it was in this year that work was started on the panels to complete the *History of Constantine the Great.*

In order to be informed about the activities of the European shops, reports were requested by the Cardinal around 1630 from various tapestry centers of Europe. These for the most part have to do with problems concerning materials such as the quality of wools and dyes from various places and other technical matters.[47] In the report from Paris, however, details concerning the Constantine series are sent to the Cardinal.[48] There is a listing of the tapestries in the series, divided into two groups with

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[46] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

[47] Cf. Appendix, pp. 195–196, Barberini, pp. 47–49, and Cavallo, *op. cit.*, pp. 23–25. Eugène Müntz published some of this material in: 'Documents sur la Fabrication des Tapisseries dans la Première Moitié du XVIIe Siècle, en France, en Italie et dans les Flanders', in: *Revue des sociétés savantes des départements*, 1874, pp. 504–520. Barberini, p. 49, publishes a second version of the Paris document which has only minor variations from that published by Müntz.

[48] Fattura di sette pezzi di tapetieria, i quali contengono l'historia di Costantino Magno con oro, d'altezza alle 7 1/4.

Dei quali S. Mai^{ta} ne fece un presente all' Emin^{mo} sig^{r} card. Barberino legato in Francia.

Un pezzo, che rappresenta la battaglia sopra il Ponte molle, di lunghezza alle 11 1/2.

Un altro, dove si mostra il disegno di Constantinopoli, alle 7 1/4.

Un altro, dove si fà il sposalitio di Costantino, lungho alle 7 1/2.

Un altro, dove Costantino entra in Roma, lungho alle 8 1/2.

Un altro, il battesimo di Constantino, lungho alle 8 1/2.

Un altro, la morte di Constantino, lungho alle 7 1/4.

Un altro, dove S^{ta} Helena presenta la S^{ta} Croce al patriarcha, 7 1/2.

Segue la fattura d' altri cinque pezzi della medesima historia chi degia sono in ordine, e fanno il compimento di detta historia con li sette pezzi soprascritti, in modo che tutta l'historia consiste in dodeci pezzi, dei quali alcuni erano degia fatti in quel tempo, li altri cinque sono stati fabricati dapoi, e sono come segue:

Un pezzo, la battaglia contra Massentio, alle	10 1/4
Un altro, dove apparisce ☧ in aria, alle	8 1/2
Un altro, dove Const^{no} eresso questo segno nelle bandiere, alle	6 1/2
Un altro, dove si portano certi trophei, alle	6 1/2
Un altro, con un Nettuno per mostrare il dominio per mare, alle	6 1/2
	38 1/4

Questi cinque pezzi fanno in tutto di lunghezza 38 1/4 alle, et havendo d'altezza alle 7 1/4 fanno in tutto alle 277 1/4 misura di Fiandra. Le quali a ragione de settanta lire tornisi de vinti soldi per alla, montano alla somma di lire 20,307.

A conto giusto si trovano solamente lire 19,407 1/2.

L'alla di Fiandra è pocho più che 1/3 (cioè palmi 2 3/4) dalla canna Romana.

Fanno dunque li cinque pezzi de Const^{no} Magno incirca canne 90.

Il prezzo di 19,400 lib. fanno 6.466 scudi di Francia, cioè scudi di moneta 7760.

I pezzi de Raphael d'Urbino con l'aggiunta sono alle de Parigi 154.

L'alla de Parigi fà 3/5 dalla canna Romana; sono dunque 154 alle de Parigi canne 92.

Il prezzo di 14.000 libbre sono scudi de Parigi 4666.

Che fanno scudi di moneta 6000.

Un parato de dodeci pezzi, che contiene l'historia di Constantino Magno, de quattro alle d'altezza, e di giro titti insieme d'alle cinquanta sei, misura de Parigi. Tutti rilevati di seta, d'oro e d'argento ricchissimamente e benissime lavorati. Vale l'alla in quadro scudi 70.

Ch' è il medesimo prezzo de quelli che S. Maj^{ta} donò al Emin^{mo} sig^{r} card. legato.

Un parato de l'historia d'Artemisia de quindeci pezzi, de quattro alle d'altezza, et incirca de sessanta alle de giro. Sono dell' istessa bontà di materia e di lavoro come quelle di Costantino, e del medesimo prezzo.

Un altro parato della medesima historia d'Artemisia, finissimo, rilevato di seta, contiene d'altezza tre alle e mezza, e trenta alle de giro o di lunghezza; l'alla vale scudi 25.

titles and measurements. The first group is composed of the seven original panels 'which His Majesty gave to the most eminent Monsignor Cardinal Barberini': the *Battle of the Milvian Bridge*, the *Building of Constantinople*, the *Marriage of Constantine*, the *Entry into Rome*, the *Baptism of Constantine*, the *Death of Constantine* and *Saint Helena and the True Cross.* The second group of five is composed of the *Campaign against Licinius, Land Battle*, the *Apparition of the Monogram of Christ, the Labarum*, the *Trophy*, and *Constantine and Crispus.* The total lateral measurement of the second group is noted with the price of 20,307 lire. Following these notations is a listing of other tapestries for sale, including a twelve-panel Constantine set of smaller dimensions which, the document states, is offered to the Cardinal at the same price as King Louis XIII had paid for those given to the Cardinal. From these offerings, the Cardinal purchased two sets, one of Diana and one of Artemisia.[49] At the time the request for this information was made – sometime before 1630 – the Cardinal had presumably thought of completing his Constantine set through the purchase of the additional panels from Paris. There can be no other reasonable explanation for the separation of the two groups of seven and five panels, with prices only for those of the latter group. However, at the time the information was received, around 1630 and just three years after the founding of the shop, Francesco Barberini decided to complete the set with panels woven on his own looms. The subjects of the panels to complete the set were, however, not the same as those of the Rubens panels, with one exception. The one duplicated subject was that of the *Apparition of the Monogram of Christ*; the titles of the others are: *Constantine Fighting the Lion*, *Constantine Burning the Memorials*, *Constantine Destroying the Idols* and the *Campaign against Licinius, Sea Battle.*

The weaving of the panels to complete the Constantine series was begun after the major panels and portieres of the series of the Castles were completed. The last of these panels was finished in November 1630.[50] Before beginning work on the Constantine designs, however, Pietro da Cortona designed two over-door panels and two *cantonate* for the Castles series. These panels are documented by records of payment to Pietro da Cortona and to the master weaver of the shop, Jacomo della Riviera, through March 1631.[51]

The plans for completion of the Constantine series were for a room garniture with many smaller panels rather than as a set composed of only large panels. The complete set of the Paris and Rome tapestries is itemized in the inventory of October 1, 1649:

Un parato dell' historia de Diana, richissimo d'oro, argento e seta, et il fundo dei fregij tutto d'oro, contiene tre alle e mezza d'altezza, e trenta doe alle di giro. L'alla in quadro si stima scudi 90.
Un altro parato della detta historia di Diana, rilevato medesimamente d'oro e d'argento, della istessa altezza e dell' istesso giro; vale ciascheduna alla scudi 60.
Un altro parato della medesima historia de Diana, rilevato di seta e finissimo, dell' istessa altezza e del medesimo giro; vale l'alla in quadro s. 25.
Un altro parato de Diana, rilevato di seta, ch' a tre alle un quarto d' altezza e vintisette alle de giro; vale l'alla scudi 22.
Un parato del Pastor fido, ha d'altezza alle 3 1/2 e vinticinque de giro; vale scudi 1,200.
Un parato dell' historia d'Orlando, chi contiene tre alle et un quarto d'altezza e vintisette alle de giro; vale in tutto scudi 1,800.
Un parato de Paesi, contiene tre alle d'altezza e vinticinque de giro; vale scudi 900.
(Quoted from Müntz, *op. cit.*, pp. 516–517.)

[49] Barberini, p. 48.

[50] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

[51] *Ibid.* Barberini, p. 51, note 16, logically translates *cantonate* as *entre-entrefenêtres.*

Seven pieces of tapestry of fine wool and silk and gold, which were given to His Eminence by the French Crown when he went as Legate, which are 7 1/2 ale romane in height. They represent the History of Constantine and are all provided with trellises, namely:
First piece with the Matrimony 25 palmi wide and 19 1/2 palmi high;
Second piece with the Victory over Maxentius 30 palmi wide;
Third piece with the Triumph of Constantine 22 1/2 palmi wide;
Fourth piece with the Baptism of Constantine 22 1/2 palmi wide;
Fifth piece with the Foundation of Constantinople 19 2/3 palmi wide;
Sixth piece with the Finding of the Cross 21 1/4 palmi wide;
Seventh piece with the Testament of Constantine 20 1/2 palmi wide.

Five pieces of tapestry His Eminence had made in Rome with bees, by Giacomo della Riviera which accompany the above seven pieces and History. Of wool, silk and gold "di guardarobba," and provided with white trellises as above, namely:
First piece represents the Apparition of the Cross 7 1/2 ale high and 3 3/4 ale wide;
Second piece – when Constantine burns the Memorials – 5 1/2 ale wide;
Third piece represents a battle on the sea 11 1/4 ale wide;
Fourth piece – when he removes the idols and places the Cross – 5 7/8 ale wide;
Fifth piece – when Constantine battles with a lion in an enclosure – 4 3/4 ale wide
and to all the above-mentioned twelve pieces there are linens made as curtains bound in staves of wood, as wide as the heights of the tapestries.

A baldachin which accompanies the above-mentioned tapestries i.e. a sky with a festoon of laurel in the middle and bees lined with sangalla, 4 1/4 ale high and 5 3/4 ale wide;

Seven hangings which accompany the above-mentioned sky without fringe and lined with red sangalla and besides the cascade which represents a golden statue of Constantine 5 7/12 ale wide, provided with trellises like the others, and a curtain of linen with a room like the others.

A small piece of tapestry which accompanies the tapestries of Constantine made of wools and silk, 3 palmi wide and 2 palmi high.

A frieze of tapestry which accompanies the tapestries of Constantine 19 1/3 palmi wide and 1/3 palmi high.

Another, similar 3 1/2 palmi high.

Two friezes of tapestries whose borders match the tapestries of Constantine, each 19 1/2 palmi high and 3 1/2 palmi wide, these detached friezes number four.

Seven sopraporte of wool, silk, and gold which accompany the above-mentioned tapestries of Constantine, provided with white trellises, i.e. one with an oval in the middle imitating a medal with the Arch of Constantine, 4 ale high, 3 5/8 ale wide, another similar 4 ale high and 2 5/8 ale wide.

Another similar with a medal with a figure with wings and a putto which hold an oval with this motto VOT XX 3 1/4 ale high, same width, another similar with a medal of bronze with the Baths of Constantine, with two horses and men before this bath, 4 13/16 ale high and 3 ale wide.

Another similar with two figures, one standing with an animal and the other seated 3 4/16 ale high and 3 3/8 ale wide, another similar with an angel who holds a shield on which he writes the name of Constantine, 3 11/12 ale high, 3 5/12 ale wide, another similar with a medal and a column and above this column an owl, and below a shield, and trophies 3 1/8 ale high and 3 1/2 ale wide.

Four portieres made of wool, silk and gold with the arms of My Lord Prince Prefect held by two angels each one 6 in 16 palmi high and 4 in 11 palmi wide and two lined in green and bordered with a little fringe of silk and gold, and the other two with nothing.[52]

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[52] Pezzi sette d'arazzi tutti di stame e seta ed oro, quali furono donati a Sua Eminenza dalla Corona di Francia quando vi andò Legato a

Many of the sets woven on the Barberini looms were planned with many decorative panels to fill smaller areas. The earlier Castles, the later *Life of Urban VIII*, *Putti at Play* and the baldachin hangings all had smaller panels *en suite* with the major panels.[53] The tapestries were designed in this manner because the Barberini atelier was one whose production was primarily for the use of the Barberini family with the tapestries designed for use in specific places, while the tapestries woven in the northern shops – as the twelve Rubens-Constantine panels – were composed of only large panels and not designed for specific areas. Although there is no documentation for what room the completed Constantine series decorated, it is reasonable to assume that they hung in the great hall on the second floor of the Barberini Palace, forming a unified decorative scheme with the Pietro da Cortona ceiling.[54]

Latere, sono alti l'uno ale sette e mezzo romane. Rappresentano l'historia di Costantino Imperatore tutti armati di treliccio, cioè:
I pezzo vi è il Matrimonio longo palmi 25 alto palmi 19 1/2;
II pezzo vi è la Vittoria contro Massenzio longo palmi 30;
III pezzo vi è il Trionfo di Costantino longo palmi 22 1/2;
IV pezzo il Battesimo di detto Costantino longo palmi 22 1/2;
V pezzo la fondazione di Costantinopoli longo palmi 19 e due terzi;
VI pezzo l' Inventione della Croce longo palmi 21 e un quarto;
VII pezzo il Testamento di detto Costantino longo palmi 20 1/2.
Pezzi numero cinque arazzi fatti fare in Roma da Sua Eminenza con Api, da Giacomo della Riviera ch' accompagnano li sopradetti sette pezzi et historia. Di stame, seta et oro di guardarobba armati di treliccio bianco, come li suddetti, cioè:
I pezzo rappresenta l'apparizione della Croce alto ale 7 1/2 largo ale 3 3/4;
II pezzo – quando Costantino abbrugia li memoriali – largo ale 5 1/2;
III pezzo rappresenta la battaglia di mare longo ale 11 1/4;
IV pezzo – quando leva l'idoli e mette la Croce – longo ale cinque e sett'ottave;
V pezzo – quando Costantino combatte nello steccato con un leone – largo ale 4 3/4
e a tutti li sopradetti dodici pezzi vi sono le tele fatte di cortinella avvolte nelle stanghe di legno, longhe quanto l'altezza dell' arazzi.
Un Baldacchino ch'accompagna li suddetti arazzi cioè cielo con un festone di laoro in mezzo et ape foderato di sangalla roscia, largo ale 4 1/4 e longo ale 5 3/4;
Sette pendenti ch'accompagnano detto cielo senza frangia e foderati di sangalla roscia e più la sua cascata quale rappresenta una statua d'oro di Costantino larga ale 5 e 7 dodicesimi, armata di traliccio come l'altri e tela di cortina con una stanza per accogliergli come l'altri.
Un pezzetto d'arazzo ch'accompagna li fresci d' arazzi di Costantino fatto di stame e seta longo palmi tre in circa e alto palmi due.
Un fregio d'arazzo che accompagna l'arazzi di Costantino longo palmi 19 1/3 largo palmi 1/3.
Un altro simile largo palmi 3 1/2.
Due fregi d'arazzi ch'accompagnano dalle bande l' arazzi di Costantino, alti palmi 19 1/2 larghi palmi 3 1/2 l'uno che detti fregi staccati sono numero quattro.
Sopraporte numero sette di stame, seta e oro quali accompagnano li sopradetti arazzi di Costantino, armati di treliccio bianco cioè uno con un ovato in mezzo che finge una medaglia con l'arco di Costantino, alto ale 4 largo ale 3 e 5/8, un altro simile alto ale 4 e largo ale 2 5/8.
Un altro simile con una medaglia con una figura con ale ed un putto che tengono tutti doi un ovato con questo motto VOT XX alto ale 3 1/4 largo simile, un altro simile con una medaglia di bronzo con le terme di Costantino, due cavalli et homini avanti detto termine alto ale 4 e tredici sedicesimi e largo ale 3.
Un altro simile con doi figure, una in piedi con un animale e l'altro a sedere alto ale 3 e quattro sedicesimi e largo ale 3 3/8, un altro simile con un Angelo che tiene in mano uno scudo quale scrive il nome di Costantino, alto ale 3 undici dodicesimi, largo ale 3 e cinque dodicesimi, un altro simile con una medaglia et una colonna e sopra detta colonna una civetta, e sotto uno scudo, e trofeo alto ale 3 1/8 e largo ale 3 1/2.
Portiere numero quattro fatte di stame, seta et oro con arme del Signor Principe Prefetto tenuta da doi angioli alte l'una ale 6 in palmi 16 e larga 4 in palmi 11 cioè due foderate di capicciola verde e guarnita attorno con una frangetta di seta et oro e l'altre due senza niente (quoted from Barberini, pp. 50–51).

[53] For the *Life of Urban VIII* cf. Townsend, Gertrude, 'Four Panels of Roman Baroque Tapestry', in: *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, Spring, 1957, pp. 11–15, and Cavallo, *op. cit.*, p. 22, Calberg, Marguerite, 'Hommage au Pape Urban VIII, Tapisserie de la manufacture Barberini à Rome, XVII^e siècle (après 1663)', in: *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, 1959, 4e ser., pp. 99–110.

[54] This view is held by Barberini (p. 45).

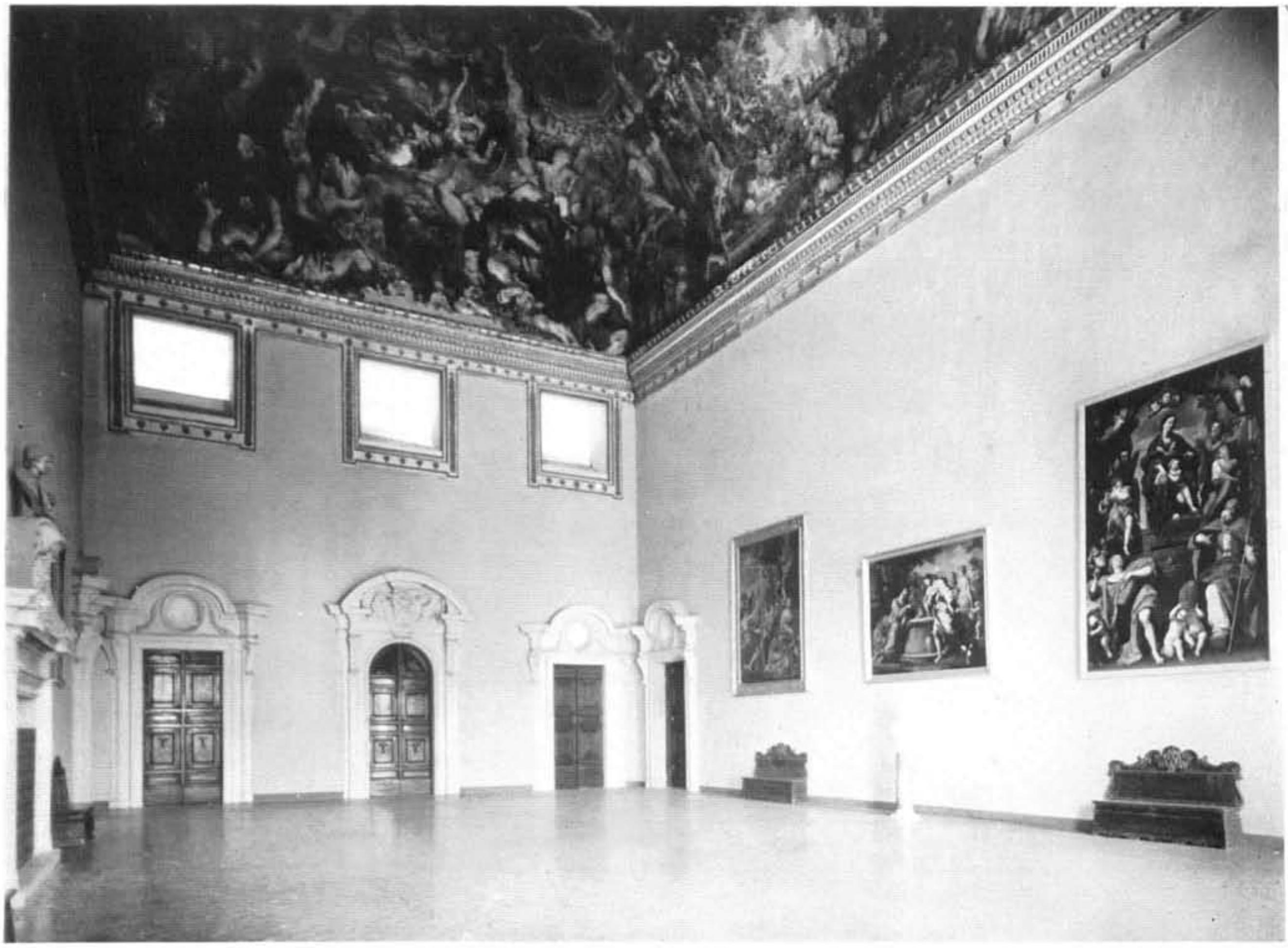

Fig. 1. The Great Hall of the Barberini Palace in Rome

The method of designing the tapestries also varied from that used in the Paris shops. In the latter, the full-scale cartoons were made directly from the Rubens oil on panel sketches. The Pietro da Cortona designs were first executed in small sketches of pen and bistre, heightened with ceruse. The one remaining sketch for the large panels is for the 'Sea Battle', now in the Uffizi (Pl. 73).[55] Then oil sketches were executed complete in every detail,[56] followed by the full-scale cartoons.[57] That Pietro da Cortona executed the fully detailed paintings is confirmed by a document concerning the painting for *Constantine Burning the Memorials*:

Brought into the wardrobe by Signor Luciano a picture four palmi high by three without frame representing

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[55] *Ibid.*, p. 145, repr. fig. 15; Briganti, Giuliano, *Pietro da Cortona o della Pittura Barocca*, p. 290. A drawing related to the dossal of the baldachin was sold at auction in 1923 (see catalogue entry for this tapestry). A drawing by Pietro da Cortona for the portieres (Barberini, fig. 13) is at Windsor Castle (Blunt, Anthony and Hereward Lester Cooke, *The Roman Drawings of the XVII & XVIII Centuries in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Windsor Castle*, no. 602). An almost identical drawing for the portieres is at Chatsworth House. I am grateful to Sir Anthony Blunt for bringing the latter to my attention.

[56] *Ibid.*, p. 145.

[57] Briganti, *op. cit.*, nos. 52–55.

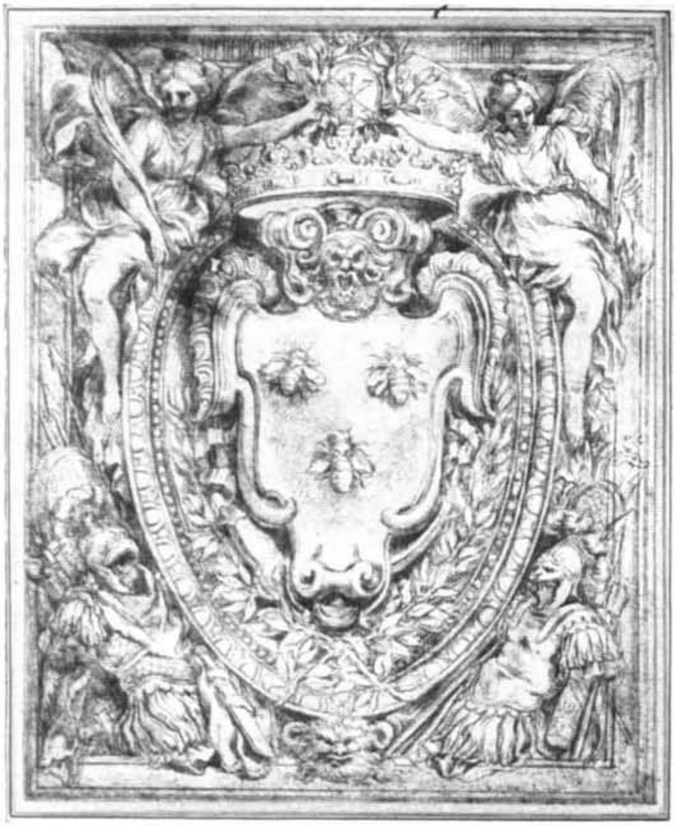

Fig. 2. Pietro da Cortona: Drawing for the portiere. Windsor Castle, Royal Library. Reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty The Queen

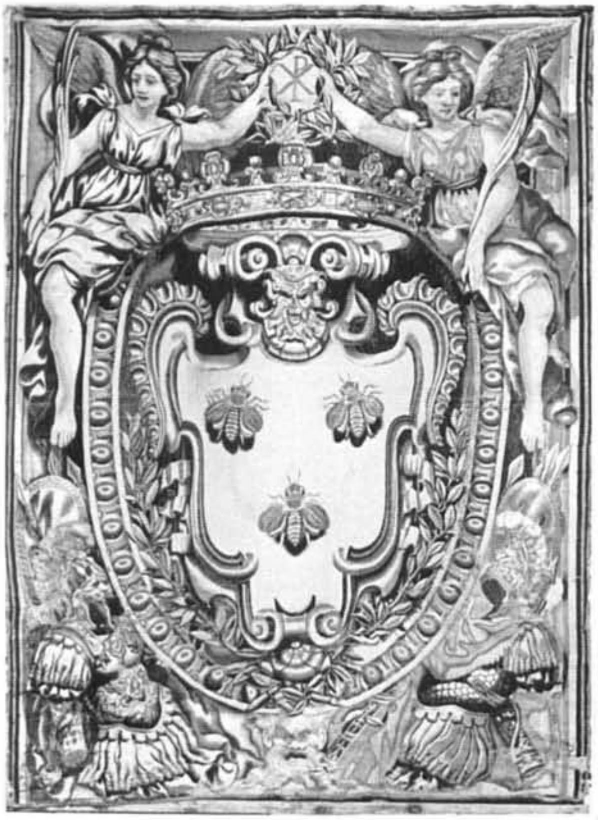

Fig. 3. Portiere from the Constantine series. Milan, Collection of the heirs of Ugo Ferraguti

Constantine burning the memorials by the hand of my Lord Cortonese and also the cartoon in three pieces of the same history as above. . . .[58]

The borders were copied from the Paris panels. The coats of arms were replaced by the Barberini bees, the crown by a coronet and the eagle with a snake by crossed laurel branches.

The period during which the Constantine tapestries were woven – from 1630 to 1641 – was one of great activity for the new atelier, for also in this period were woven from 1635 to 1637 the baldachin and pendants ordered by Urban VIII and the series of *Children's Games* woven during the years of 1637 to 1642.

The first panels to be woven were portieres to accompany the Constantine set. The predominant feature of the design was the Barberini coat of arms similar to the design of the portieres for the Castles series in this respect.[59] Sixteenth-century portieres were perhaps the models on which both of these designs were based. The Castles portieres had the coat of arms enclosed in an elaborate cartouche of the later Italianate development of heavily plastic auricular ornament. A ribbon is entwined in the ornament with a coronet above, the whole superimposed on a tree behind which the views are seen with the borders of a double guilloche ornament and bees at the corners. The Constantine portieres

[58] Entrato in guardarobba per le mani del Signor Luciano un quadro alto palmi quattro e tre senza cornice depintovi quando Costantino brugia li memoriali mano del signor Cortonese e più il cartone in tre pezzi dell' istessa istoria come sopra (quoted from Barberini, p. 145).

[59] *Ibid.*, fig. I.

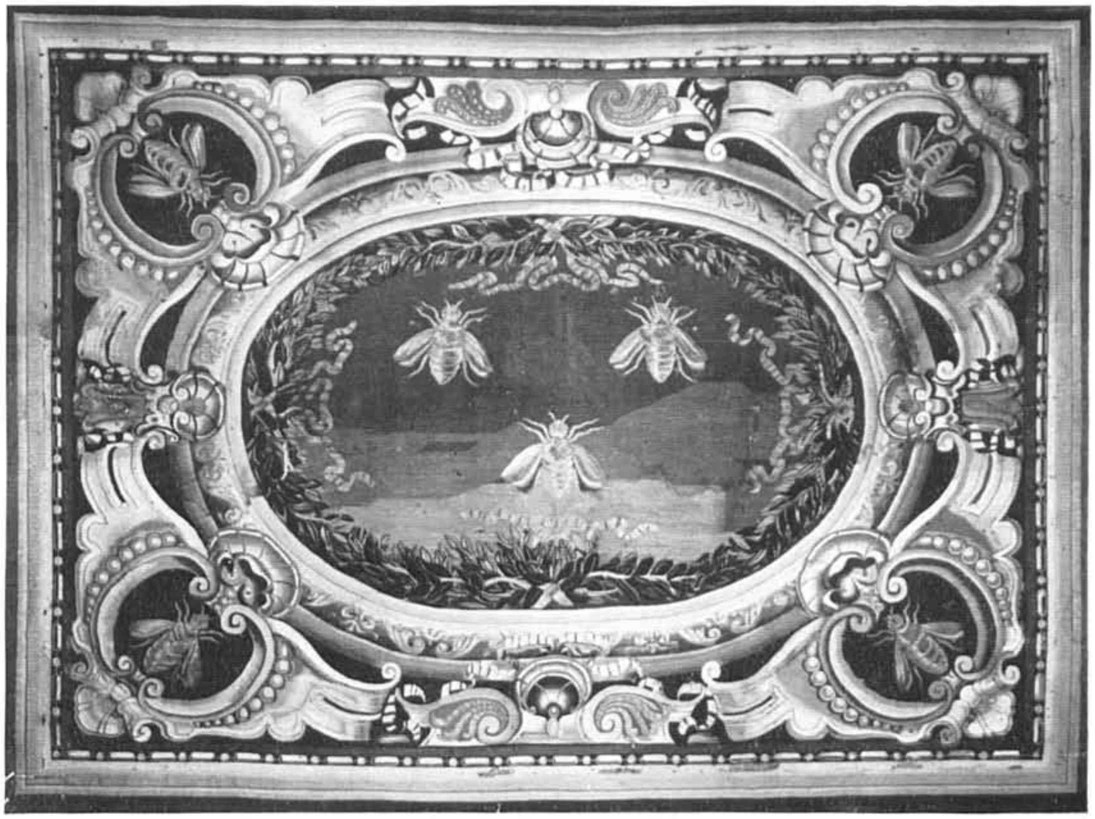

Fig. 4. Ceiling of the Baldachin of the Constantine series. Rome, Collection of the late Enrico Barberini

have the same heavily plastic cartouche and the coronet, but enclosed by an oval with egg and dart molding with trophies of arms below and victories holding the monogram of Christ – ☧ – above. Payment for the cartoon was made in 1630:

> To Pietro Paolo Ubaldino painter five scudi for having made the angels and the trophies around the large hanging which is being made to accompany the cloths of Constantine according to the letter of Mr. Pietro Cortonese . . .[60]

Of the four, two were completed in July of 1632. The following month, the *Apparition of the Cross* was begun and completed in February of the following year. The second major panel, *Constantine Burning the Memorials*, was begun in May of 1633 and finished by March of 1634.

On the looms at the same time as the large panels was the ceiling of the baldachin which was finished by November 1, 1633. In this panel the three Barberini bees are enclosed by an oval laurel garland within a simple molding with surface ornament copied from that on the Paris panels. Around this an ornament, less plastic than that of the cartouches of the portieres but made more complex through the introduction of other elements, is arranged, with bees in the corners. The dossal of the baldachin with the golden statue of Constantine was not finished until August of 1636. The pendants were finished between August of 1634 and May of 1635.[61]

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[60] A Pietro Paolo Ubaldino pittore sc. 5 moneta per havere fatto li angeli e li trofei attorno la portiera grande che si fa per accompagnare i panni di Costantino conforme lettera di Mr. Pietro Cortonese (quoted from Barberini, p. 145).

[61] The above information concerning the dates is taken from Barberini, p. 145.

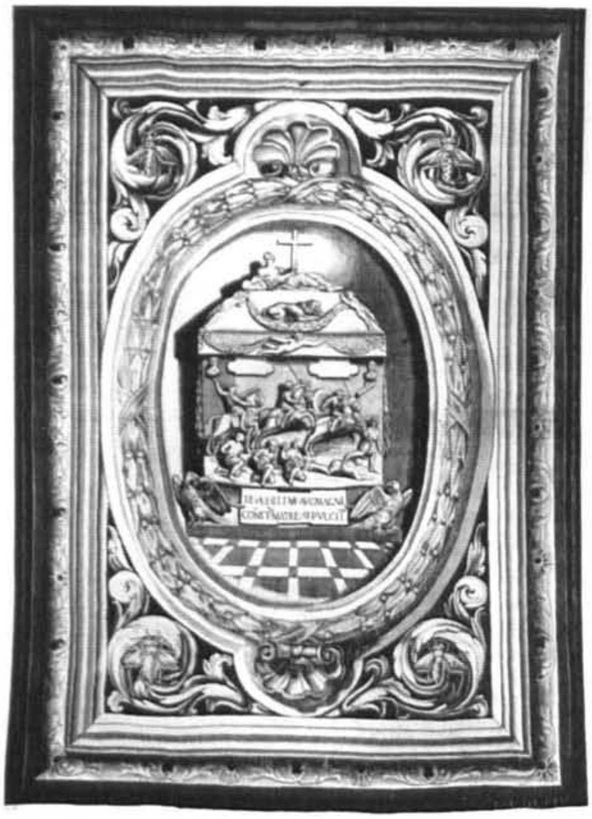

Fig. 5. Over-door panel: The Sarcophagus of Saint Helena. Milan, Collection of the heirs of Ugo Ferraguti

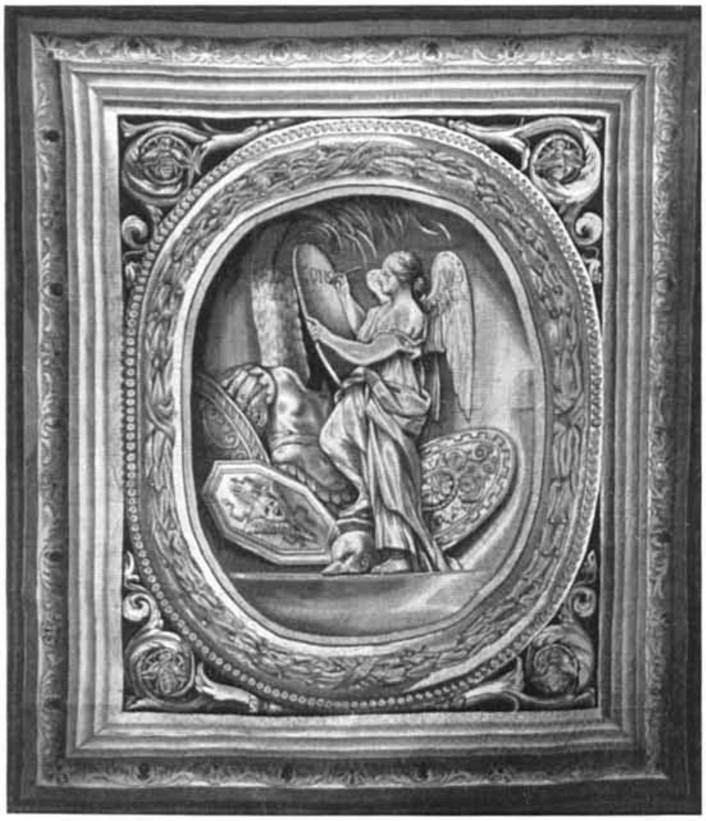

Fig. 6. Over-door panel: Angel writing the name of Constantine on a shield. Milan, Collection of the heirs of Ugo Ferraguti

The remaining three large panels were completed in 1635 and 1637; the 'Sea Battle' in July 1635 and *Constantine Destroying the Idols* and *Constantine Fighting the Lion* in May and July respectively of 1637.[62]

With the large panels completed, there remained to be woven two portieres and seven over-door panels. The portieres were completed in September 1638 and May 1639.[63]

The seven over-door panels represented monuments or reproduced reliefs relating to Constantine. The first, finished in August 1639, was described in the 1649 inventory: 'with an oval in the middle imitating a medal with the Arch of Constantine'. The second over-door, finished in November of the same year, is not described in the inventory but must have represented the Sarcophagus of Saint Helena which is now in the Vatican Museum. The sarcophagus is framed by an oval wreath of ribbon within an oval panel, bound laurel leaves with a shell form at the top and bottom. The corners are filled with a *rinceau* on which a bee is imposed. The outer framing is composed of imitations of moldings, a simple shaped one within one of half-round shape with surface decoration copied from the Paris panels.

The other five over-door panels were completed during 1641 and the early part of the following year. Finished in March of 1641 was the panel 'with a figure with wings and a putto which hold an oval

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[62] *Ibid.*, p. 146.

[63] *Idem.*

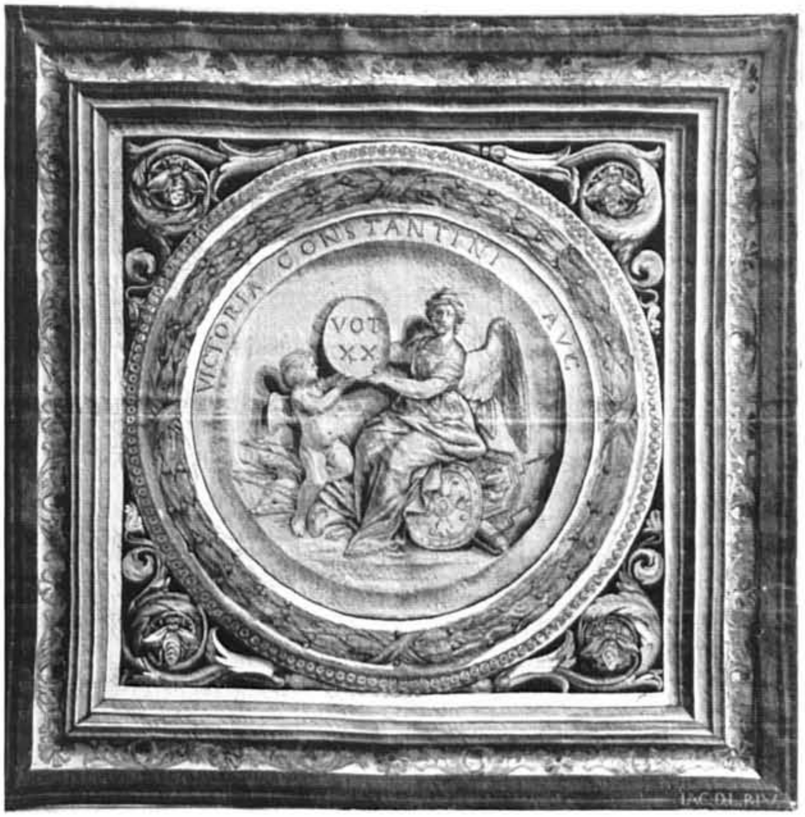

Fig. 7. Over-door panel: Winged figure and putto.
Milan, Collection of the heirs of Ugo Ferraguti

with this motto $\overset{\text{VOT}}{\text{XX}}$.' The central panel in this over-door is round instead of oval in shape as the second one. The framing, however, is similar although not identical to the earlier panel, as are the remaining over-doors. The fourth panel, off the looms before the following May, consisted of a central oval panel 'with a medal of bronze with the Baths of Constantine, with two horses and men before his bath'. The oval of the fifth panel, finished by August, was designed 'with two figures, one standing with an animal and the other seated'. The last two panels were completed in 1641; the sixth, 'with an angel who holds a shield on which he writes the name of Constantine' by January 15, the last, 'with a medal and a column and above this an owl, and below a shield and trophies' in April.[64] The ornament surrounding the central panels on all of the over-doors is similar, but not identical. The second one with the sarcophagus differs slightly from the other three known, all woven later. On the three later panels, the oval is of a different shape. The shells are omitted, a band of beading has been added around the wreath, and the *rinceaux* are composed of slightly different forms. This may be the result of a redesign or a reinterpretation by the new director, Gasparo Rocci, who succeeded his father-in-law, Jacomo della Riviera, who died between July 26 and October 26, 1639.[65] The last five panels were then executed entirely under his direction, and the altered design is evident in the three remaining panels.

With the completion of these over-door panels the documentation concerning the weaving of the

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[64] *Ibid.*, pp. 146–147.

[65] Cavallo, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

Constantine series is completed. Only the weaving of four 'friezes' and the unidentified panel are unaccounted for.[66]

After the completion of the Constantine series there remained only two other major sets of tapestries: the *Life of Christ*[67] from Pietro da Cortona designs and the *Life of Urban VIII*, which was finished after the death of Francesco Barberini in 1679.[68] Shortly after this time the factory disappeared.

All of the panels in the series remained in the Barberini Collection in Rome until the nineteenth century. In 1889 the five major Italian panels and one of the Paris panels, the *Building of Constantinople*, were acquired by Charles M. Ffoulke, Washington, D.C.[69] Prior to 1913 these six panels were acquired by John R. McLean and remained in his collection until 1948, when they were sold at auction.[70] The one Paris panel from this group was acquired by the Minneapolis Institute of the Arts.[71] The remaining six Paris panels and the *Statue of Constantine* passed into the Corsini Collection in 1907 and were sold at auction in Venice in 1919.[72] From here the six Paris panels passed to a private London collection.[73] Of the smaller panels, two portieres and the ceiling of the baldachin remain in the Barberini Collections.[74] Two other portieres and four over-door panels are in the Collection of the heirs of Ugo Ferraguti, Milan.[75] The locations of the remaining pieces are not known.

Each of the Roman panels of the series is a unique production, but the Constantine series as woven in Paris from the twelve Rubens designs (including the 'Death', but not the *Triumph of Rome*) had an astonishing success and was repeated many times, later in the seventeenth century with a different border. In the 1627 inventory of the Saint-Marcel shop, two sets, one of nine panels and one of twelve panels, remained in the storeroom, both woven with gold and silver, the nine-panel set the same size as the Kress-Barberini panels and the other one slightly smaller, as well as one panel of the set given to Francesco Barberini.[76] That the Constantine series was highly regarded when the inventory was drawn up is demonstrated by the valuation of the sets of this series remaining in the atelier which is much higher than any of the others. Although very little is known about the production of the Saint-Marcel shop in the period after the death of François de La Planche in 1627 until the shop was absorbed into the Gobelins manufactory in 1662, the old designs – including those of the Constantine series – were often produced.[77] The series was woven also in the other Paris shops, although during this time it is difficult to separate the work of one factory from that of the others.

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[66] Urbano Barberini does not mention these panels in his account of the weaving of the series.

[67] Cavallo, *op. cit.*, p. 22, Barberini, pp. 150 f. The set is now in the Cathedral of Saint John the Divine, New York.

[68] Cf. Townsend, *op. cit.*, Cavallo, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

[69] *The Ffoulke Collection of Tapestries*, arranged by Charles M. Ffoulke, pp. 324–333. While in the Ffoulke Collection, the six panels were exhibited at the Museum in Philadelphia (*Catalogue of an Exhibition of Tapestries, belonging to Mr. Charles M. Ffoulke, of Washington, D.C.*, May 3–23, 1896, The Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art, pp. 29–39. Catalogue by Charles M. Ffoulke).

[70] *The Celebrated Barberini-Ffoulke Tapestries . . . , property of the Estate of the late John R. McLean*, Parke-Bernet Galleries, May 27, 1948, nos. 11–16.

[71] 'Founding of Constantinople, a Tapestry from the Barberini-Ffoulke Collection, designed by Rubens', in: *Bulletin of the Minneapolis Institute of the Arts*, April, 1949, pp. 65–71.

[72] *Catalogo delle collezioni del fu Comm.re Antonio del Zotto e già Giuseppe Piccoli*, Venice, August-September, 1919, p. 67 (Barberini, p. 152).

[73] Ackerman, *op. cit.*

[74] Barberini, p. 152.

[75] Viale, *op. cit.*, pp. 90–92.

[76] Au magazin estant aud. hostel des Canayes s'est trouvé les tapisseryes qui s'ensuivent:

Premièrement neuf pièces de tappisseryes rehaulsées de soye, or et argent, et d'or dont les bordures sont à fonds gauffré, représentant l'Histoire de Constantin le Grand, lad. tappisserye ayant 4 a. 1/4 de haulteur, mesure de Paris, ayant le cours comme s'ensuict, assavoir: une pièce où est représenté le bastiment de Constantinople, contenant 4 a. 1/2 quart; une autre l'Alliance de Constantin, 5 a. 1/2 de cours. Une autre où Constantin voit le cigne au ciel, 4 a. 3/4; l'autre le Bastesme de Constantin, 5 aulnes; l'autre où on lui montre une bannière, 3 a. 3/4; une autre où est le Trophée de Constantin, 3 a. 3/4; une autre où est Sainte Hélène, 4 a. 1/4; une autre où est représentée la bataille de Pont de Molle, 6 a. 1/2 demi cart; une autre où Constantin fait son entrée dans Rome, 4 a. 1/4; contenant le tout ensemble 42 a. 1/2 de cours sur la haulteur de 4 a. 1/4, font ensemble 180 a .1/2 demy cart en carré mesure de Paris, prisé l'aulne 270tt, revenant ensemble audit prix, à .. .. 48,768 tt 15

There are however records of four *tentures* of the Constantine series which were woven at the Saint-Marcel shop and three sets from the Saint-Germain shop. The four sets may be ascribed to the Saint-Marcel shop by means of their border style and the monograms of Hans Taye , and Filippe Maëcht , woven in the selvedge. One set of eight panels was recorded in the *Inventaire du Mobilier de la Couronne*, 1663, as having a border, 'in the four corners of which are four masks in the cartouches, at the top a monogram of a P crossed with an X, at the sides two cartouches, the one with a blue ground, the other with a red ground, and at the bottom an eagle which carries a snake'.[78] This border is identical to that on the original Kress-Barberini panels with the exception of the arms of France and Navarre, the crowns and scepters which are all omitted in the later set. The central compositions are identical and the weavers' marks are woven in the selvedge.[79] We know Maëcht remained at the Saint-Marcel shop because he signed a set of tapestries with Hippolyte de Comans,[80] director of the shop after 1650.[81] These panels are the same height as the twelve-panel *tenture* in the 1627 inventory and could be part of it. Two other sets, of six and eight panels each with borders identical to that above remain. The Taye and Maëcht monograms are woven in the selvedge of both and the latter has the monogram of ACR – Armand Cardinal Richelieu – in the cartouches in the vertical side borders.[82]

Item une tenture de tappisserye contenant douze pièces de lad, histoire de Constantin, dont les figures sont réhaulsées d'or et d'argent et la bordure d'icelle sur fonds de layne cramoisy rouge brun, ayant 4 aulnes de hauteur mesure de Paris, ayant le cours qui ensuict, assavoir: la première représentant le bastiment de Constantinople, 4 aulnes demy quart; la 2e le Baptesme de Constantin, 4 a. 2/3 demy quart; la 3e, la Providence divine, 3 a. 1/2 quart; la 4e une alliance de Constantin, 5 a. 1/2; la 5e la bataille de Pont de Molle, 6 a. 1/2; la 6e Constantin voit le cigne au ciel, 4 a. 2/3; la 7e l'Entrée de Constantin dans Rome, 4 a. 3/4; la 8e le Trespas de Constantin, 4 a.; la 9e Sainte Heleyne, 4 a. 1/4; la 10e où Constantin est en bataille à cheval, 5 a. 3/4 et demy; la 11e où est le Trophée de Constantin, 3 a. 1/2 demy quart; la 12e une bannière qu'on présente à Constantin, 3 a. 3/4; toutes les quelles pièces contenant ensemble 55 a. 1/3 de cours sur ladite haulteur de 4 aulnes font ensemble 221 a. 1/3 en carré, prisé l'aulne 210 tt, revenant ensemble à .. .. 46,480 tt

Item une pièce de tappisserye rehaulsée d'or et d'argent, estant resté d'une tenture de tapisserye de l'Histoire de Constantin que Sa Majesté a donnée à M. le Légat, lad. pièce ayant 4 a. 1/4 de haulteur et 3 a. 3/4 de cours faisant ensemble 15 aulnes et 15/16 en carré, prisé l'aulne 210 tt, revenant à .. .. 3,345 tt 15s6

(Quoted from Guiffrey, in Fenaille, p. 41.)

77. Guiffrey, in Fenaille, p. 16.

78. No. 28. CONSTANTIN – Une tenture de tapisserie de laine et soye relevée d'or, fabrique de Paris, manufacture des Gobelins, représentant l'Histoire de Constantin, dessein de Rubens, dans une bordure aux quatre coins de laquelle sont quatre masses dans des cartouches, au hault un chiffre d'un P croisé d'un X; aux costez, deux cartouches, l'un fonds bleu, l'autre fonds rouge, et par le bas une aigle qui emporte une couleuvre; ladite tapisserie contenant 17 a. 5/6 de cours sur 4 aunes de hault, en quatre pièces sans doublure (quoted from Fenaille, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 250).

79. The panel of this set of *Saint Helena and the True Cross* is reproduced in Fenaille, *op. cit.*, vol. I, opp. p. 250. Cf. also Archives photographiques, negative no. 1077.

80. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 224.

81. Guiffrey, in Fenaille, vol. I, p. 3.

82. Fenaille, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 250 f., not itemized in the 1663 inventory. One panel reproduced in Fenaille, opp. p. 246. Cf. also Archives photographiques, no. 1079.

This set also agrees in vertical measurement with the first *tenture* in the 1627 inventory and may be part of that set. The six-panel set has a border of the same style and same weavers' marks.[83] A fourth set of eight panels with the arms of France and Navarre in the border was sold in Paris in the late eighteenth century.[84]

The Saint-Germain shop, established in 1633, also executed sets after the Constantine design. From the inventory made in 1661, twelve cartoons of the *History of Constantine the Great* are itemized.[85] In the three remaining sets from the Saint-Germain factory there are no weavers' marks, but they are designated in the inventories as: *fabrique de Paris, manufacture de la Planche.*[86] The first set comprises twelve pieces with a narrow border of *rinceaux* with a cartouche in the center at the top with the arms of France, three fleur-de-lis in the center with palm branches below and a crown above.[87] The second and third sets have a different border than the preceding, imitating a guilloche molding encircled by laurel branches. The cartouche, identical to that in the preceding set, is in the lower border, with a sun, symbol of Louis XIV, in upper border. While the central compositions in the later Saint-Marcel sets were almost identical to those of the original Kress-Barberini set, those from the Saint-Germain shop were greatly changed: the compositions are expanded to include other figures, foliage and other elements. These sets were delivered to the *mobilier national* in 1690 or 1691 at the final liquidation of the shop.[88] The different border style, the incorporation of the sun symbol and the late date of their entry into the *mobilier national* would presume a date of manufacture later than the first Saint-Germain set, perhaps after the founding of the Gobelins in 1662. Two more sets were woven prior to 1643, but at which factory it is not known.[89]

There are then nine documented sets of the *History of Constantine the Great* executed in the seventeenth century in Paris after the original Kress-Barberini set. In all likelihood, more were woven in Paris and in other French shops. The designs were also used in the Brussels shops in an altered form and with different borders.[90]

Although the altered central panels and the redesigned borders brought the Constantine series more into the concepts of style in the later seventeenth century, the popularity of the subject warranted its use for another series for the short-lived atelier at Maincy with many of the episodes duplicating those of the earlier set. Some of the compositions were by LeBrun and some were after the frescoes in the Vatican.

The episodes dealing with Constantine were admirably suited to the seventeenth century, but the taste in the following century would not allow such heroic subjects and tapestry designers turned to the realm of mythology and fantasy. The Kress-Barberini *History of Constantine the Great* stands as one of the great monuments of the tapestry weavers' art.

[83] *Ibid.*, p. 255, in the Vienna Gobelins Sammlung.

[84] *Ibid.*, p. 249, no. 11 of the 1663 inventory.

[85] Item, douze pièces peintes en destrempe sur papier d'apres Rubens, représentant l'Histoire du Grand Constantin, estimez 360
(Quoted from Guiffrey, in Fenaille, p. 61.)

[86] Fenaille, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 251–253. Two panels reproduced *ibid.*, opp. p. 248 and p. 252.

[87] Fenaille, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 251–252, plates opp. pp. 248 and 252.

[88] *Ibid.*, pp. 252–253, plate opp. p. 254. Archives photographiques negative nos. 1166, 1167, 1170, 1171, 1172 and 1175.

[89] Fenaille, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 255, from a 1693 inventory supposes these to be from a sale in 1643.

[90] Rudolph Lepke's Kunst-Auctions Haus, Berlin, Catalogue 2000, November 6, 1928, nos. 223a–f.

THE Rubens designs for the Constantine series are, of course, related to many single paintings in the painter's vast production, but the most helpful comparison is with two other decorative cycles: the designs for the six-panel tapestry series of the Roman Consul, Decius Mus,[91] and the Marie de' Medici series for the Luxembourg Palace.[92] Like the Constantine series the other cycles are wall decorations, and the tapestry series designed in 1617 also deals with a subject from Roman history. While the Medici paintings deal with a contemporary subject, comparison with this series is of value because it was designed at the same time as the Constantine series. In all three series it is difficult to make categorical statements because there is not a consistent style within each of them, just as in the development of Rubens' work the stylistic evolution is not as consistent as that shown in the work of many painters of lesser ability. Certain very broad statements concerning the three series can be made, however – always noting the inconsistencies.

The Decius Mus series like the Constantine cycle is almost purely a narrative representation with little of the complicated allegory of the Medici series. The world of fantasy has to a great extent been set aside in the two tapestry series in order to reinforce the narrative. In only two instances in the Decius Mus series minor figures have been introduced which are not immediately related to the scene, and in only one of the six panels, the *Funeral Rites*, does Rubens include the multitude of allegorical figures and devices which are usual in the Medici series. In the latter practically all of the gods of Olympus, figures of the virtues, contemporary allegorical figures, symbolic animals, and numerous *putti* and other figures and devices are presented many times in fantastic settings. In the series of twenty-one paintings two are straightforward narrative scenes: the *Marriage of Marie de' Medici in Florence*, and *Henry IV Entrusting the Regency to the Queen* which are nevertheless presented within an inventive architectural setting. The Rubens designs for the Constantine series, on the other hand, fall stylistically between these two series with six of the thirteen designs representing narrative scenes.[93] Several of the designs are projected into the realm of fantasy, by the introduction of figures in contemporary dress: the 'Marriage' and the 'Baptism', while other designs are removed from reality by different means: the 'Entry' by the two winged figures above and the Minerva, the *Building of Constantinople* by the eagle and the *Constantine and Crispus* by the winged figure and the Neptune.[94] Only the 'Trophy' and the *Triumph of Rome* present the rich allegorical type of the Medici series.

The static quality of the Constantine designs – less evident in the two 'Battle' designs – is difficult to relate to Rubens' general style. There is little of the spatial depth, or the creation of movement through curved and diagonal lines of this style; instead, the compositions present the calm monumentality of the antique and earlier Renaissance. The effort to obtain an antique effect by means of a geometrical disposition of the figures in the picture plane and on the ground surface cannot be doubted. Three of the compositions are taken directly from antique types: the 'Apparition' from the Roman

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[91] For the Decius Mus series, cf.: Evers, *Peter Paul Rubens*, pp. 180–184, Göbel, *op. cit.*, vol. I, part I, pp. 206, 357, 365, 423, Rooses, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, nos. 707–714, pp. 195–207.

[92] For references to the Medici cycle see note 4.

[93] The two battle scenes, the *Apparition of the Monogram of Christ*, the *Labarum*, *Saint Helena and the True Cross* and the *Death of Constantine*.

[94] Winged victories, both on the ground and in the air, occur in antique reliefs. The close relationship of the Constantine designs to antique sources would point to this source for at least partially suggesting these figures.

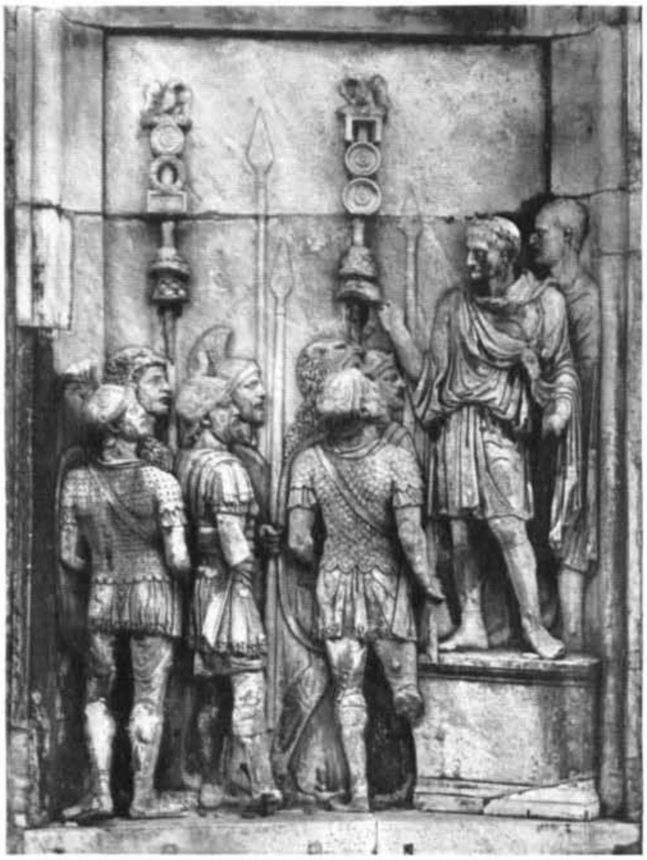

Fig. 8. Marcus Aurelius addressing his soldiers. Relief on the Arch of Constantine in Rome

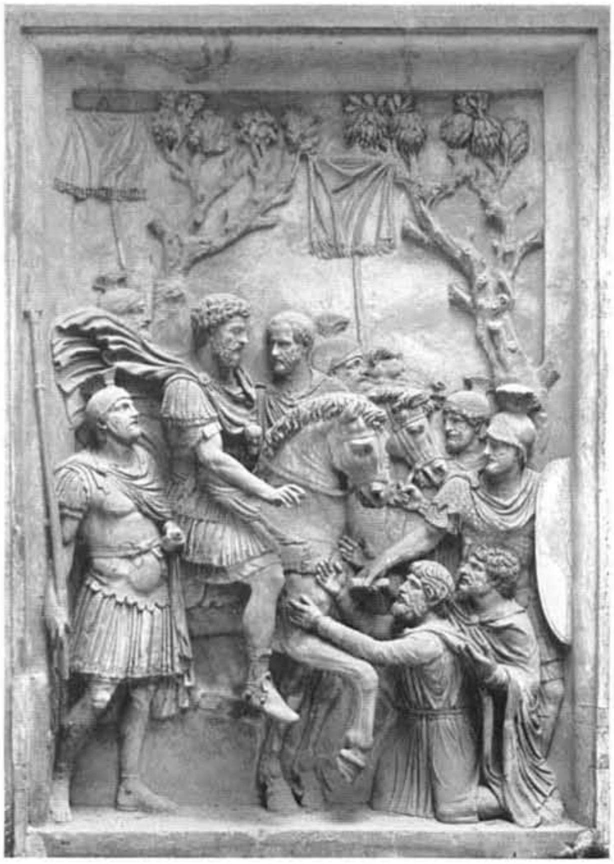

Fig. 9. Triumphal Entry of the victorious general. Relief on the Arch of Constantine in Rome

allocutio relief form,[95] the 'Death' from the funereal banquet relief form and the 'Entry' suggested by the triumphal entries. The battle scenes also are tempered by antique prototypes, through the lateral movement, through the grouping of the figures on a forward plane and through the compact composition – the *Campaign against Licinius, Sea Battle* to a greater extent than the *Battle of the Milvian Bridge*.

This static quality is also apparent in the Decius Mus series, where a lateral movement is maintained throughout the compositions and relatively few figures are used in geometric arrangements, whereas in the Medici cycle there is endless movement in the figures which create space and move in all directions.

Architectural backgrounds which had been abandoned by Rubens during the second decade of the century return to play an important part in his compositions in the twenties.[96] In the 1617 Decius Mus series the background is landscape with architecture again used in the Constantine and Medici series, but for different purposes in each cycle. The static quality and geometric disposition of the Constantine compositions are reinforced by means of the architecture which accentuates the vertical lines and the lateral movement is reinforced by the solid background

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[95] Giulio Romano had used this form for the same scene in the fresco in the Vatican.

[96] Evers, *Peter Paul Rubens*, pp. 150, 211 ff.

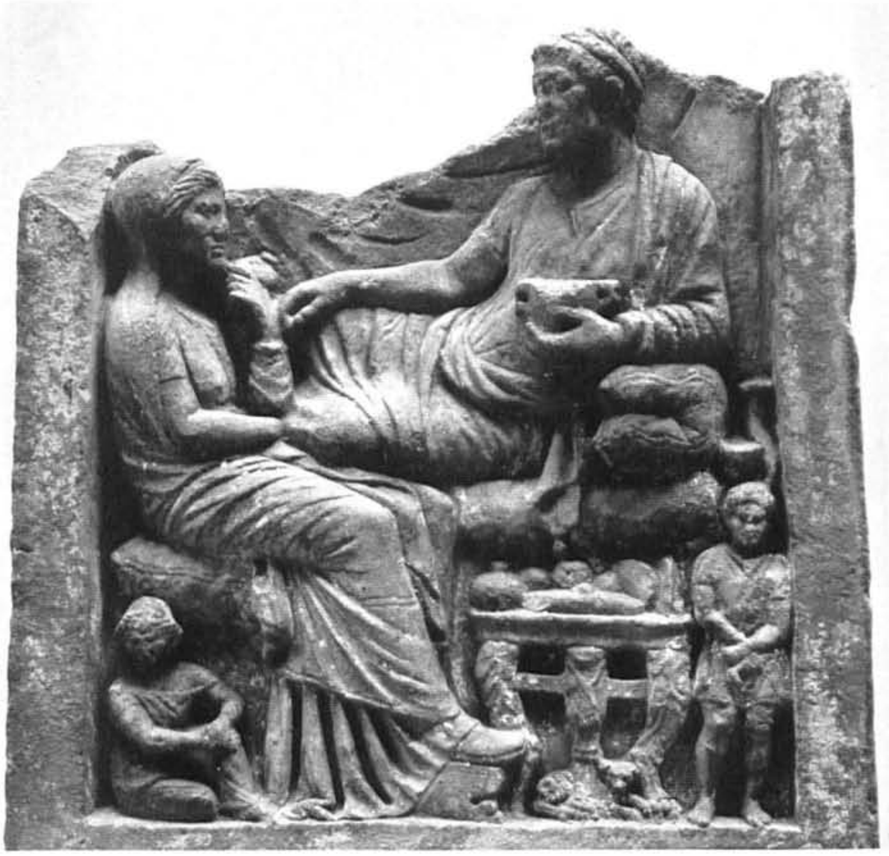

Fig. 10. Funeral banquet. Roman relief. London, British Museum

parallel to the picture plane. Only very rarely did Rubens use this kind of a background which formed a constricted space, such as that in the 'Marriage' and in the 'Death'.[97] In the Medici cycle, in the two panels which have an architectural background parallel to the picture plane, the 'Marriage' and *Henry IV Entrusting the Regency to the Queen*, it is broken up into an endless number of small irregular units in which the space moves and in both panels several parallel planes carry the space back and through openings. In the *Coronation of the Queen* the architectural background and many of the figures are parallel to the picture plane. The movement is momentarily arrested but implied, while in the tapestry designs the tableau-like quality is maintained. The architecture in the 'Entry', perpendicular to the picture plane, opens the space but emphasizes the geometrical disposition of the figures. Much more typical of Rubens' architectural backgrounds is that in the Saint Helena panel where the architectural structure reinforces the static scene, yet opens the space through its construction on different planes and levels. These two panels maintain the stage or tableau quality, with the architectural backgrounds composed of fanciful architectural segments – stage scenery. Similarly, the Medici cycle is rich in this kind of background: the *Birth of Marie de' Medici* and the *Queen Receiving the Offers of Peace*.

The architecture in all of the backgrounds in Rubens' paintings is a very personal style composed of elements from the antique and their Renaissance interpretations, with mannerist and early baroque forms. The influence of the antique in Rubens' work has been the subject of several studies[98] and this important source is never neglected in any general work on the painter, but in architecture the influence is only to the extent which was present in much baroque architecture. The elements of his architectural style are evident in his house in Antwerp built shortly after his return from Italy[99] and, while the relationship of the elements sometimes is altered, the style remains essentially the same as that in the Medici and Constantine series. Only in a few panels of the Constantine designs – the 'Marriage' and the 'Death' – does Rubens consciously attempt to create an antique background, and then only to reinforce the antique quality of the whole composition by its relationship to the figures. Rubens was often archeologically correct in smaller objects, clothing or an altar, but architecture was too important a stylistic and compositional element for archeological accuracy.

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[97] Kieser, Emil, 'Antikes im Werke des Rubens', in: *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, vol. X, 1933, pp. 110–137, discusses Rubens' relationship to antique architecture (p. 128) and notes the similarity of the Constantine 'Marriage' with Roman historical reliefs (p. 126).

In the Constantine and the Medici series the architectural style is similar and, with the exception of one scene in each series, not specifically related to the scene represented.[100] In the Medici series, the 'Coronation' background is that of St. Denis where the event took place and in the Constantine series, the 'Baptism' background is that of the Lateran Baptistry where, by legend, the event occurred. In both panels, however, Rubens has changed the background to conform to his style: in the former, the background with the traceried windows is subdued by emphasizing not only the figures taking part in the scene, but also the canopy and the figures in the air. In the 'Baptism', the twisted columns have been substituted for the plain ones in the Baptistry in order to produce more movement. This lack of identity combined with the inventive style furthers the stage scenery or coulisse quality of the backgrounds.

The structures are composed of various architectural elements, columns, arches, balustrades not identifiable as a part of a structure. Only rarely is a specific structural form used; the arch of triumph or parts of it occur in several of the Medici series and in the 'Entry' in the Constantine series.

The architectural elements are rather heavy antique or late Renaissance columns, pilasters, arches, combined with late Renaissance to early baroque forms – new capital forms, rustication, volutes, balustrades and other decorative forms, many times used in a manneristic method. In the Medici series the architectural backgrounds are more complex with a greater use of the decorative forms than in the Constantine series, the comparative severity of the tapestry backgrounds effected in order to produce a greater impression of the antique.

Rubens' interest in the antique world extended to all its phases, but in his paintings the most direct influence is in the figures and costumes which, in many instances, are based directly on specific examples of ancient sculpture.[101] The year of his return to Antwerp from Italy, his brother published his *Electorum*

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[98] Goeler von Ravensburg, Friedrich, *Rubens und die Antike* . . . , especially pp. 59–194, Constantine series, pp. 185–189, Decius Mus series, pp. 176–182; Haberditzl, F. M., 'Rubens und die Antike', in: *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, vol. 30, 1911–1912, pp. 276–297; Kieser, *op. cit.*

[99] Cf. Evers, *Peter Paul Rubens*, pp. 150–161.

[100] The architecture in the *Entry into Rome* may have been meant to refer to a specific city gate or arch, but as represented by Rubens is not identifiable.

[101] Haberditzl, *op. cit.*, deals exclusively with sculpture as does Kieser, *op. cit.*, except for a very brief mention of architecture.

libri duo (Antwerp, 1608) for which Peter Paul designed some of the reproductions of ancient sculpture.[102] This interest in ancient sculpture extended to his personal collection, installed in a gallery in his house in Antwerp, many pieces of which were acquired through an exchange with Sir Dudley Carleton in 1618.

The Decius Mus, Medici and Constantine series all draw upon Rubens' studies of antique sculpture.[103] In the Decius Mus series the figure of the Consul is taken from a relief on the column of Trajan, the head in the fourth panel bears a close resemblance to an antique figure of Mars in Rome, and in the last panel similarities with an antique gem have been noted.[104] In the Medici cycle there is a multitude of gods and goddesses, some after antique prototypes. In the purely narrative scenes only a few if any are included, but in the great allegorical fantasies many are used – the *Government of The Queen* contains at least ten major deities as well as nymphs, satyrs and other allegorical figures. In this panel, the Jupiter and the Apollo are based on antique sculptures[105] and in the following panel, the figure on the left can be closely associated with the antique Flora Farnese.[106] In the *Birth of Louis XIII* four of the figures, including that of the Queen, are based on antique sculptures.[107]

In the three cycles, the antique costume and armor are based on the same prototypes: the King, in the *Apotheosis of Henry IV*, is dressed in the same kind of ancient armor as Decius Mus and Constantine and other figures in the three series. The Roman toga is the standard male costume in the Constantine series, but not in the earlier Decius Mus series in which the male figures are clothed in various draped garments which Rubens used in the Constantine series for secondary figures such as those behind the Minerva in the 'Entry'. This use of the toga in the Constantine series is a contributing factor in Rubens' plan to present an antique ambiance for the scenes. The female figures are presented in many garments,which use the Roman tunic as a basic design, but are elaborated upon with drapery of Rubens' invention. In the Medici paintings there is a greater variety of costume; most of the historical figures are clothed in contemporary dress, except in the allegories where a great variety of inventive costumes are used. In the figures and in their clothing – with the exception of the toga figures – Rubens only uses antique sources as suggestions or points of departure, altering, elaborating and combining with borrowings from other periods and always creating new forms.

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[102] Evers, *Peter Paul Rubens*, p. 30.

[103] The Medici cycle has been extensively studied with respect to the antique influence. Haberditzl, *op. cit.*, devotes a great part of his study to this rich source (pp. 281–287). Kieser, *op. cit.*, also gives much attention to this cycle including some references to the Decius Mus and Constantine series.

[104] Kieser, *op. cit.*, pp. 126–127.

[105] Grossman, *op. cit.*, pp. 62, 67.

[106] *Ibid.*, pp. 67–70; Kieser, p. 110.

[107] Haberditzl, *op. cit.*, pp. 281–282.

THE designs of Pietro da Cortona for the five major tapestry panels and the dossal of the baldachin are derived from many of the same sources as those of Rubens and the intention is similar – to present the scenes within an antique ambiance. Although there are no contemporary series in Cortona's work to which these designs may be compared, comments on several series produced earlier and several produced later will serve to clarify Cortona's dominant stylistic development as well as the classicizing element, which remains an important aspect of his style.[108]

The style of the designs of the Constantine tapestries in many respects is related to work of Cortona executed a decade earlier – the Palazzo Mattei frescoes and those in S. Bibiana. Although the influence from the study of antique monuments is present, to a greater or lesser degree, in much of his work, during this period the influence of his early study of antique monuments is most evident.[109] During the decade in which the Constantine designs were executed Cortona produced several decorative cycles, but they were allegories; indeed almost contemporary with the execution of the Constantine designs, Cortona was painting what was to be the major work of his career and a significant monument in baroque painting – the ceiling of the great hall in the Palazzo Barberini.[110] Also in this period, in 1637 and 1640, Cortona painted the frescoes of the Four Ages in the *Camera della Stufa* in the Pitti Palace, Florence.[111] Both the Florentine and Roman works, like Rubens' allegories, deal with the world of fantasy, and although the Pitti Palace series does not have the spatial fantasy of the Barberini ceiling, the numerous figures in each panel are arranged in spacious landscapes with a rich variety of movements and gestures. In the tapestry designs, however, the movement of the figures and the space in which they are enclosed are restricted in much the same manner as the Rubens designs – with the exception of *Constantine Fighting the Lion*, which requires special consideration. For comparable examples in Cortona's work the earlier cycles in the Palazzo Mattei[112] and S. Bibiana[113] must be considered.

In both series, the figures are enclosed within a space limited by architectural structures. In the Palazzo Mattei series the figures are arranged with static gestures in a somewhat crowded lateral arrangement close to the picture plane reminiscent of the Rubens Constantine designs. There is no fantasy – no allegorical figures perform duties and no *putti* decorate the scenes. The architectural backgrounds are composed of a wealth of structures and richly wrought accessories play an important role in the compositions. The same decorative richness is evident in costumes which are, with the exception of the armor, inventions.

The S. Bibiana cycle shows a great change in Cortona's style in the few years since the execution of the Palazzo Mattei series. The later work, also a narrative cycle, shows many characteristics of the

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[108] The sources used for these comments about Pietro da Cortona's style are: Barberini; Briganti, *op. cit.*; Wittkower, Rudolf, *Art and Architecture in Italy, 1600 to 1750*, chapt. 10, Pietro da Cortona, pp. 152–168 and Marabottini, A., *Dipinti di Pietro da Cortona* (Catalogue of the Cortona exhibition held at Cortona, July–September, 1956).

[109] On Cortona and the antique, cf.: Briganti, *op. cit.*, pp. 55–61, 64–65, and the catalogue of drawings, pp. 287–332, many after antique monuments, and Wittkower, *op, cit.*, p. 163 and note 45.

[110] Briganti, *op. cit.*, pp. 81–87, cat. no. 45, Wittkower, *op. cit.*, pp. 165–166.

[111] Briganti, *op. cit.*, cat. nos. 69, 70, 77, 78.

[112] *Ibid.*, cat. no. 5.

[113] *Ibid.*, cat. no. 12.

Palazzo Mattei series, the richness of the architectural setting, accessories and costumes, but they do not receive the same importance as in the earlier series. Here there is a new conception of the figures and architecture in space which has been expanded both vertically and laterally. The architecture no longer confines the figures – they move freely and in relation to it and to each other in complex and fluid movements, replacing the static postures and the lateral movement of the earlier series.

The great Barberini ceiling with its spatial innovations and almost overpowering pictorial wealth is of importance here as the great point in the evolution of Cortona's style and as a work contemporary with the design of the Constantine tapestries. The decorations in the Pitti Palace, in the *Camera della Stufa*, were started while Cortona was working on the Barberini ceiling and continued through the forties. Although not narrative cycles, they offer useful comparisons with the tapestry designs with their fully integrated mature style which had evolved from the S. Bibiana series, through the Barberini ceiling and resulted in the Florentine works. The two later frescoes, the 'Age of Copper' and the 'Age of Iron', show the mature spatial relationships Cortona achieved between the figures and architecture. These were evident in the S. Bibiana series but in a simpler form. There are now many more figures, with a greater complexity of movement in the individual figures and in the figure groups with the areas defined by the figures more extensive. Decoration in fabrics on the architecture and accessories is not as lavishly used as in the earlier series. The architecture is less important as a decorative element, now defining the more complex spatial organization.

In the Hall of Venus of the Pitti Palace in the lunettes,[114] executed 1641–1642, Cortona rejects the spatial freedom of the Four Ages series for a more stable composition with solidly grouped figures in static, angular postures. There is little spatial depth – the figures are grouped laterally almost on or close to the picture plane. As in the work of the twenties the influence of antique monuments is evident in these lunette paintings.

The heavy, simple architectural forms and the decorative reliefs are clearly based on antique sources while the accessories, such as the urns, altars and furniture are a mixture of antique and baroque forms. More importantly – because they are closely related to the Constantine designs – are the classicizing figural relief forms which remain an important part of Cortona's style. The static, angular postures of the figures, the lateral movement, the grouping close to the picture plane are all derived from antique sources, either directly, or through other painters.[115] In the Barberini ceiling where Cortona's spatial inventions reach their greatest complexity, four small octagonal paintings are included which simulate antique reliefs or medals; and in the contemporary Constantine designs, this simulated relief form is used for the over-door panels.[116] Reliefs of this style had earlier been used on the Palazzo Mattei ceiling decoration in which Cortona's paintings were incorporated. The paintings in the lunettes of the Hall of Venus in the early forties and the panels in the vault of the Hall of Apollo[117] painted a few years later are the most important evidence of the concurrent existence and development of this element with the major development in Cortona's work, the former denying all spatial emphasis and movement and the latter, although admitting movement and spatial depth to some extent, nevertheless maintaining the lateral disposition and firmly established architectural backgrounds.

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[114] *Ibid.*, cat. no. 85, figs. 204–211.

[115] The Pietro da Cortona sketchbook in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto (Briganti, *op. cit.*, pp. 323–324) contains drawings after Polidoro da Caravaggio which are closely related to this classicistic element in Cortona's style. In the sketchbook also are drawings after antique reliefs and sculpture. Of particular interest in relation to the Constantine 'Apparition' panel is a drawing after an *allocutio* relief (16 r).

[116] Barberini (p. 150) notes this similarity, particularly between the over-door, *Rome Presenting a Dove to the Enthroned Constantine*, to one of the octagonal panels in the ceiling.

The Constantine tapestry designs are part of this classicizing element, and like some of the other works of this style do not fit precisely into a strict chronological development. Of the six designs for the Roman tapestries, all but one, *Constantine Fighting the Lion*, are related to this style. In *Constantine Burning the Memorials, Constantine Destroying the Idols* and the *Statue of Constantine*, the figures are somewhat related to those in the earlier S. Bibiana series and the later Apollo panels in the Pitti Palace mentioned above, in their groupings and in their architectural backgrounds which firmly establish the spatial depth, yet allow this barrier to be penetrated with openings. The movement of the figures in the tapestries is far more static than either of these groups and in this respect is closer to the lunette paintings in the Hall of Venus in the Pitti Palace.

The 'Sea Battle' and the 'Apparition' require separate consideration from the above group. The former, instead of having the spatial depth established through the architectural background, has this limitation established by means of the compact group of ships and men reinforced by the clouds. The action, like that in the other panels, is consequently forced to the foreground. That Cortona very consciously limited the spatial depth in this panel is seen by a comparison with the contemporary *Victory of Alexander over Darius*[118] where the figures are arranged within an immense spatial depth. To what extent this spatial limitation is due to a consideration for a unity of style in the series or to the striving for an antique effect, is difficult to determine, but in the context of the other designs in the series and the other work of Cortona, the latter reason would certainly appear to have validity. There can be no doubting the intention of an antique effect in the 'Apparition' however, which, like the Rubens design for the same subject, is modeled after antique *allocutio* reliefs.[119]

The *Constantine Fighting the Lion* panel is the only panel which does not closely relate to the others. The stance of the body – one of tension – with the drapery billowing around Constantine's left shoulder and swirling around in back, with the lion poised on his hind legs, produces a sense of movement and definition of space typical of the major development of Cortona, but in opposition to the static, classicizing element in the other panels. Although the space where the action occurs is defined by the fence, this barrier, parallel to the picture plane, serves to heighten the sense of movement of the two figures by contrasting the diagonals and curves of the figures with the vertical and horizontal lines directly behind them. The fence does not completely contain the action taking place in front of it as the architectural backgrounds function in the first three panels discussed – the action continues behind it. Many examples in Cortona's work could be cited in which the same elements are present, but perhaps the paintings *David and the Lion* and *David and Goliath*[120] offer the most useful comparisons:

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[117] *Ibid.*, cat. no. 97, figs. 232–234.

[118] *Ibid.*, cat. no. 64.

[119] The Giulio Romano fresco in the Vatican in addition to using this relief form also shows the flaming cross which Cortona used instead of the monogram of the Rubens design.

[120] Briganti, *op. cit.*, cat. nos. 36, 37.

the same sense of tension and the same use of curved and diagonal lines is evident, but the background is a spacious landscape. The use of a wall or fence with figures in back is a motif used in several other Cortona paintings.

To what extent the Rubens tapestries influenced the Cortona designs is difficult to determine. Cortona designed the Roman panels to present a unity of style in the whole series, and stylistically they are closely related to the Paris panels, but this classicism, also a secondary factor in Cortona's work, may be a solution in terms of his own style.

In summary then, the designs for the Constantine tapestries by both Rubens and Cortona – with the exceptions cited – are based on an intent to effect an antique ambiance for the action. This is accomplished to some extent, to be sure, by Roman architecture, accessories and dress, but more importantly by the static postures, a lateral movement and a grouping of the figures close to the picture plane. This classicistic style, although in some respects unrelated to the major stylistic development of both Rubens and Cortona, is an important element in the style of both painters.

THE exalted position Constantine has received in history and particularly in ecclesiastical history has made attempts at 'historical truth' in relation to his life, until fairly recently, extremely difficult. The power of the person who, in one generation, wrought the change in status of Christianity from a persecuted religion to one which rode in triumph can be evaluated by the legends which evolved to glorify this first Christian Emperor. These legends are a reflection not of the person, in actuality, but rather of the time of the fabrication and of the exaltation of the religion. Two examples illustrate the immensity of the problem concerning these legends. One concerns the contemporary biographer of Constantine, Eusebius of Caesarea, who wrote his *History of the Church*[121] during the Emperor's lifetime and his *Life of Constantine*,[122] twenty years later and after Constantine's death. The latter includes incidents, thought now to be without historical basis – the legends were evolving even at this early period. The other example which may be cited in relation to the Constantine legends is the 'Donation of Constantine', a spurious document widely accepted for many years and incorporated into other writings, which has been called 'the most famous forgery in history'.[123] The facts of the life of the Emperor as generally agreed upon must be related before the embroidery of the legends can be discussed and then some statements can be made about the incidents depicted in the tapestries.[124]

Constantine, the illegitimate son of a distinguished Roman officer, Constantius I, was born in Naissus (today, Nish, Yugoslavia). After spending some time at the eastern court he rejoined his father, who was in command of the western provinces at Boulogne. The latter died a short time later, in 306, and Constantine was acclaimed Augustus by the troops. The son, however, requested and received the title of Caesar, of his own provinces and those of the East. The following year Constantine attained the title of Augustus and married Fausta. The political juggling of the following years culminated in the battle with Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge in 312, after which Constantine was sole Emperor of the West and reigned with Licinius over the eastern Empire. The following year religious tolerance for Christianity was officially claimed throughout the Empire through the Edict of Milan, although it was not proclaimed the official religion.

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[121] In: Schaff, Philip and Henry Wace, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2nd ser., 10 vols., *The History of the Church*, vol. 1, pp. 73–404.

[122] *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 473–559.

[123] Coleman, Christopher Bush, *Constantine the Great and Christianity*, pp. 13, 175–215 and Schaff and Wace, *op. cit.*, *Prolegomena*, pp. 442–443.

[124] These comments are taken from: Coleman, *op. cit.*, the *Prolegomena* to the *Life of Constantine* in Schaff and Wace, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 411–435, *The History of the Church* and the *Life of Constantine*.

The sole rule of Constantine over the East and the West was consolidated by the victory in the campaign against Licinius in 323, first on land and then through Crispus at sea. In 325 the Emperor presided over the Council of Nicaea and the following year decided to move the capital of the Empire from Rome to Constantinople with the ceremony of dedication held in 330. The next years were occupied with struggles which culminated in the war with Persia in 337 during which he was taken ill and died, after having first been baptized.

Of these generally accepted facts, the Kress-Barberini tapestries depict five events: the *Marriage of Constantine*, the *Battle of the Milvian Bridge*, the *Campaign against Licinius*, *Sea Battle*, the *Building of Constantinople* and the *Death of Constantine*. The *Entry into Rome* is probably based on the triumphal entry into Rome made by the Emperor after the battle of the Milvian Bridge which is described by Eusebius.[125] The battle in the campaign against Licinius depicted by Rubens, but not woven, would be the first battle, on land, while the battle depicted by Pietro da Cortona would be the second battle against the imperial fleet under the command of the Emperor's son Crispus.

Three of the panels depict popular legends for which it is possible to trace the early sources. These are: the *Apparition of the Cross*, *Saint Helena and the True Cross* and the *Baptism of Constantine*.

The first of these, the 'Apparition' by which Constantine is miraculously converted, is related in the Eusebius *Life of Constantine*,[126] but not in the earlier 'Church History'. In the former, the event takes place immediately before the campaign against Maxentius, when at noon the miraculous vision of 'a cross of light in the heavens'[127] appears above the sun. The legend is repeated by later writers[128] and remained one of the most popular legends through the eighteenth century.[129] In another version, by Lactantius, who was the tutor of Constantine's son Crispus, it is related that while encamped near the Milvian Bridge Constantine had a dream in which he was directed to have the monogram of Christ ☧ portrayed on the shields of his soldiers before proceeding into battle.[130] That the cipher was adopted by Constantine and used on the labarum in the battle and later is verified by many extant monuments,[131] but the miraculous midday vision is a legend.

In the Constantine tapestries the 'Apparition' is the only event of the five cartoons by Pietro da Cortona which repeats the same subject of one of the five Rubens sketches not included in the original gift. The Pietro da Cortona version uses the Eusebian flaming cross while Rubens, for the same subject, presents a midday vision, but uses the cipher, a combination of the Eusebius and the Lactantius

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125. *Life of Constantine*, book I, chapter 39.
126. Book I, chapters XXVIII, XXIX and Coleman, *op. cit.*, pp. 77 ff., and pp. 135 ff.
127. Book I, chapter XXVIII.
128. Coleman, *op. cit.*, p. 140.
129. *Ibid.*, p. 141.
130. *Ibid.*, pp. 77 ff.
131. *Ibid.*, p. 138.

versions.[132] These two versions of the event are examples of the constant alterations to which legends were subject.

One of the most famous Christian legends is that which concerns the finding of the True Cross by Constantine's mother, Helena.[133] Several legends tell the story of the finding of the True Cross, among them the eastern version assigning the discovery to the wife of the Emperor Claudius. Eusebius tells of the pilgrimage made by Helena after the Council of Nicaea,[134] after 325 and before Helena's death in 327 or 328. This western version, of Helena, becomes dominant in the Middle Ages. Of interest in relation to the Kress-Barberini tapestries is the close connection of the Helena legend with the legends of Pope Sylvester because the tapestries depict the baptism of Constantine not in the East where it is generally agreed that the event took place, but in Rome. The earlier medieval legends with the Helena legend also state that Constantine was baptized by Pope Eusebius in Rome (309 or 310). In the later legends, after the eleventh century, the name of Pope Sylvester (314–336) is sometimes substituted for that of his predecessor.[135]

The earliest form of the legend came from the Near East as did the Helena legend and does not appear in Rome until the early sixth century in the *Liber Pontificalis*, containing short biographies of the popes[136] from the time of Saint Peter. In the life of Pope Sylvester the story of Constantine's Roman baptism is included, taken from an independent manuscript, the *Vita Silvestri*.[137] In the latter, the story is told of the Emperor's affliction with leprosy, the miraculous cure through his baptism in the Lateran Baptistry – precisely where the event takes place in the Constantine tapestries – and conversion to Christianity. The event is stated as having taken place prior to August 13, 315. After the baptism Constantine built many churches in Rome, according to the legend, among which was that of the Lateran, in which the baptism was said to have taken place.[138]

From these legends it would appear that there are two events depicted in the Kress-Barberini tapestries which relate to the conversion, one through the miraculous vision directly before the battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312, in the 'Apparition' panel, and one, shortly after the battle, in the 'Baptism' panel. Which one is directly responsible for the conversion is impossible to state without knowing the direct literary source for the Rubens and the Pietro da Cortona events. However, the source must have been one using material from the *Vita Silvestri* and the Saint Helena legend which were often found in the same manuscript.[139]

The immediate source used by Rubens and Pietro da Cortona is not known, if indeed each painter used one published source. Production of literature on the first Christian Emperor has not ceased since it was first produced in his reign. One bibliography lists sixty-four works concerning Constantine

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132. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 140, n. 2 for later versions of the legend.
133. *Ibid.*, pp. 116–120, Schaff and Wace, *op. cit.*, *Prolegomena*, pp. 444–445.
134. *Life of Constantine*, book III, chapters XLII–XLIV.
135. *Ibid.*, pp. 119, 152–172, Schaff and Wace, *op. cit.*, *Prolegomena*, p. 442.
136. *Liber Pontificalis*, translated by Louise Ropes Loomis.
137. Coleman, *op. cit.*, pp. 153–172.
138. This account of the baptism is taken from: *ibid.*, pp. 160–164. In the Constantine frescoes in the Vatican, Giulio Romano had also depicted the event in the Lateran Baptistry.
139. *Ibid.*, p. 118.

through the fourteenth century.[140] The subjects of the remaining panels may have a literary source, or may have been composed for the tapestry series.

Of the four remaining Rubens panels, two may have to do with particular events and two are allegories. Of the first group, the 'Labarum' is, of course, related to the 'Apparition', as the monogram of Christ which, by legend, the Emperor beheld in the heavens, was adopted by him and carried into the battle of the Milvian Bridge, which was won by invoking this divine aid.[141] The Rubens design of the 'Labarum' panel would seem to refer directly to the use of the sign on the labarum to be carried into battle at a time directly after the apparition and before the battle in 312. The *Constantine and Crispus* panel depicts the Emperor bestowing the command of the imperial fleet on his son Crispus sometime before the second battle in the campaign against Licinius when Crispus commanded the imperial fleet.[142] Of the remaining two designs the *Trophy* may simply allude to the victories of Constantine or they may relate more specifically to his crowning, which was an important part of the iconography relating to Constantine as he was the first emperor to wear a crown.[143] Eusebius tells of the erection of a trophy of victory set up in Rome after the battle of the Milvian Bridge which may have suggested this design.[144] The *Triumph of Rome* is an allegory of the supremacy of Constantine's western Empire similar to the contemporary painting of the *Prosperous Reign* in the Medici cycle.

Of the five Pietro da Cortona designs, the 'Apparition' and the 'Sea Battle' have been discussed above. Of the remaining three panels, *Constantine Fighting the Lion* is probably based on a legendary story illustrating the bravery of the Emperor when a boy. The other two panels particularize actions of Constantine in regard to taxes and idolatry. The *Constantine Burning the Memorials* design refers to the tax concessions instituted by Constantine – probably those freeing the Church from *annona* and *tributum* or legislation exempting the clergy from taxes both enacted in the early period.[145] There are also references in Eusebius to tax concessions not related to the Church in the later period,[146] but it would seem that the panel refers to the earlier measures. The *Constantine Destroying the Idols* is, as the 'Memorials', based on the pro-Christian and anti-pagan feelings of the Emperor which increased after 323.[147] Until this date there was no attempt to suppress paganism or make Christianity the one legal religion but thereafter more forceful legislation was enacted. We are told of laws during this later period which prohibited sacrifices to the gods and also of the destruction of pagan temples.[148] Eusebius tells of numerous laws and letters of condemnation against idolatry and refers to the destruction of pagan temples in the eastern Empire.[149] The Pietro da Cortona scene, if it is based on a specific reference to the destruction of idols, would take place in this period.

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[140] Schaff and Wace, *op. cit.*, pp. 446–455.

[141] For the use of the monogram, cf. Coleman, *op. cit.*, pp. 83, 131, 134, 138.

[142] Schaff and Wace, *op. cit.*, *Prolegomena*, p. 418.

[143] Coleman, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

[144] *Life of Constantine*, book I, chapter XL.

[145] Coleman, *op. cit.*, pp. 31–32.

[146] *Life of Constantine*, book 4, chapters II and III.

[147] Coleman, *op. cit.*, pp. 25–44.

[148] *Ibid.*, pp. 37–38.

[149] *Life of Constantine*, book II, chapters XLV and XLVII, book III, chapters LIII–LVIII, and book IV, chapters XXIII, XXIX and LIX.

The dossal of the baldachin with the golden statue of Constantine, while not one of the panels composing the narrative series, was visually the most important of the series, in front of which Pope Urban VIII was undoubtedly enthroned. The source for this design may also be based on the Eusebius writings. Both the *History of the Church* and the *Life of Constantine* contain the account of the events after the battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312: the triumphal entry into Rome, the erection of the 'trophy' to commemorate the military victory and finally, there follows a description of the cross placed in the hand of a statue of the Emperor and the inscription to be placed upon it:

> . . . ; but perceiving that his aid was from God, he immediately commanded that a trophy of the Saviour's passion be put in the hand of his own statue. And when he had placed it, with the saving sign of the cross in its right hand, in the most public place in Rome, he commanded that the following inscription should be engraved upon it in the Roman tongue: 'By this salutary sign, the true proof of bravery, I have saved and freed your city from the yoke of the tyrant; and moreover, having set at liberty both the senate and the people of Rome, I have restored them to their ancient distinction and splendor.'[150]

The Pietro da Cortona design follows this description of the cross in the right hand and the inscription: 'To our Ruler, Flavius Constantine, Liberator of Rome, Founder of Peace, The Senate and the People of Rome,'[151] may relate to the Eusebian quotation of the inscription.

From the above comments, it is then possible to group the tapestry designs into a chronological sequence:

1. *Constantine Fighting the Lion* – Pietro da Cortona.
2. *The Marriage of Constantine, 307* – Rubens.
3. *The Apparition of the Cross* – Pietro da Cortona.
   (Shortly before the battle of the Milvian Bridge.)
4. *The Apparition of the Monogram of Christ* – Rubens.
   (Shortly before the battle of the Milvian Bridge.) One of the five not included in the gift in 1625.
5. *The Labarum* – Rubens.
   (After the 'Apparition' and before the battle of the Milvian Bridge.) One of the five not included in the gift in 1625.
6. *The Battle of the Milvian Bridge, 312* – Rubens.
7. *The Entry into Rome* – Rubens.
   (Immediately after the battle of the Milvian Bridge.)
8. *The Trophy* – Rubens.
   (Immediately after the 'Entry'.) One of the five not included in the gift in 1625.
9. *The Statue of Constantine* – Pietro da Cortona.
   (Immediately after the 'Trophy'.)

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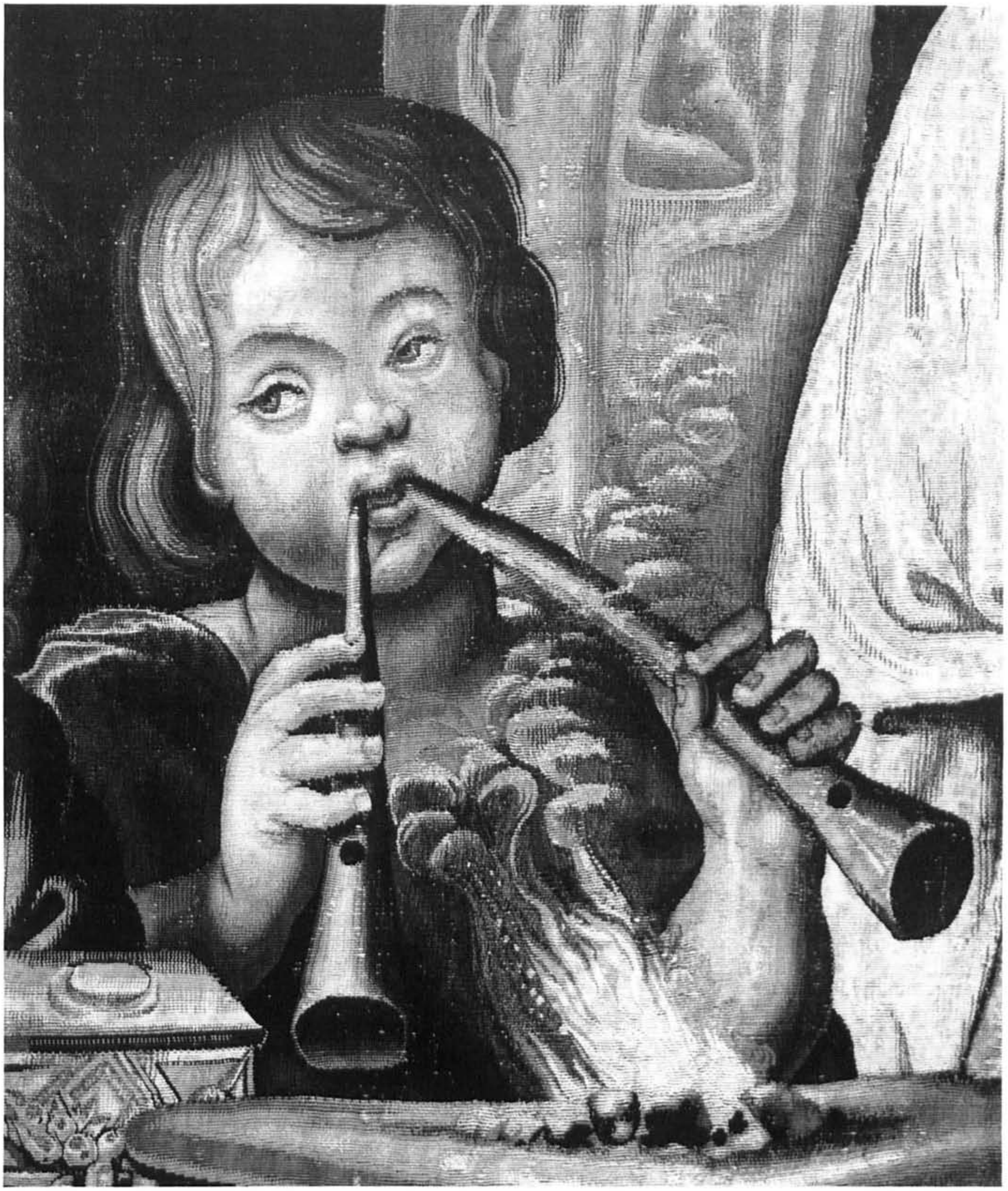
[150] Eusebius, *History of the Church*, book 9, chapter 9. This passage quoted from Schaff and Wace, *op. cit.*, p. 264. A slightly shorter version is in the *Life of Constantine*, book I, chapter XL.

[151] Cf. transcription of inscription in the catalogue entry.

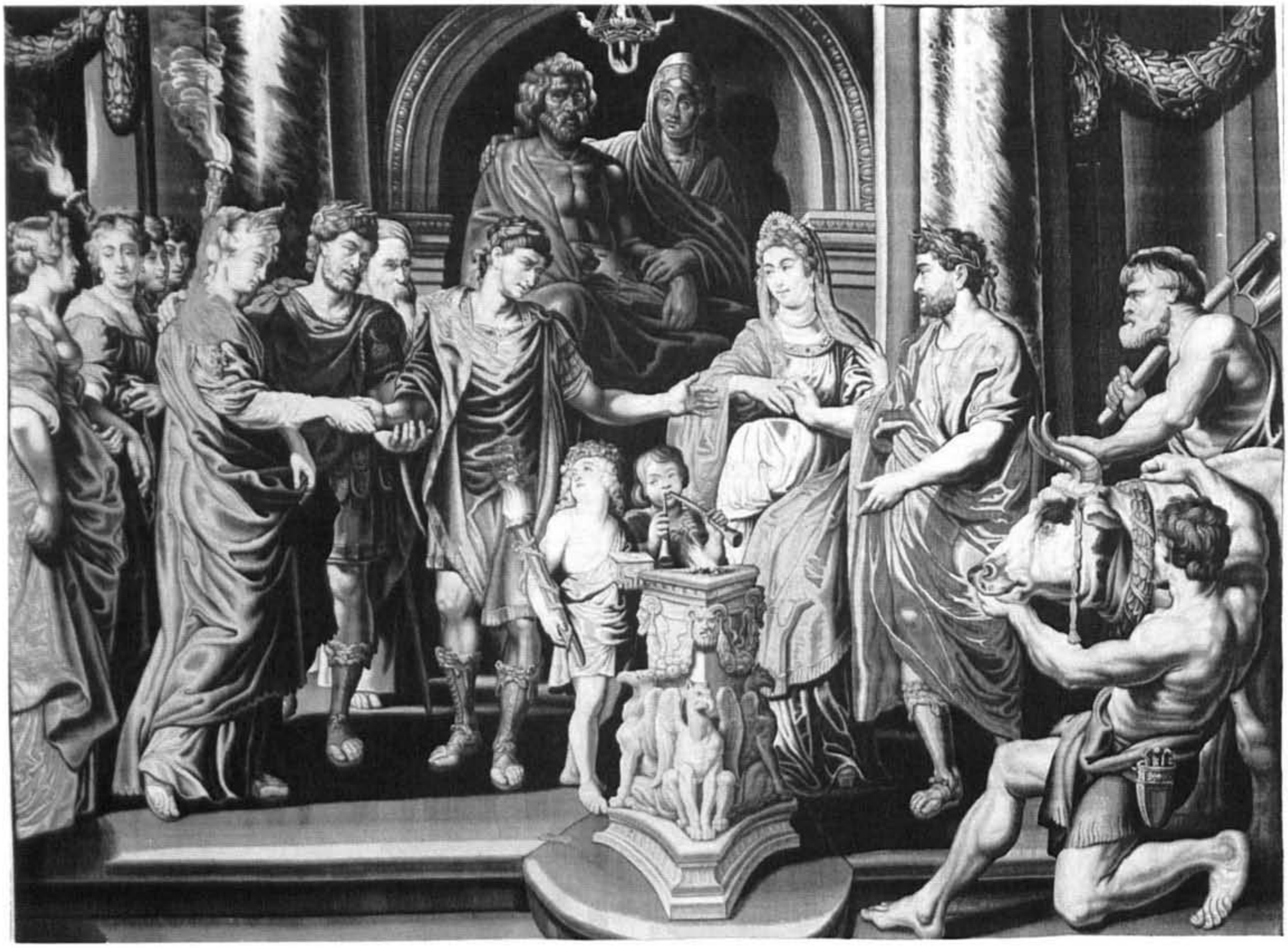
10. *The Baptism of Constantine* – Rubens, c. 315.
11. *Constantine Burning the Memorials* – Pietro da Cortona.
12. *Constantine and Crispus* – Rubens.
    (Before the campaign against Licinius.) One of the five not included in the gift in 1625.
13. *The Campaign against Licinius, Land Battle, 323* – Rubens.
    One of the five not included in the gift in 1625.
14. *The Campaign against Licinius, Sea Battle, 323* – Pietro da Cortona.
15. *Saint Helena and the True Cross* – Rubens.
    Between 325 and 327 or 328.
16. *The Building of Constantinople* – Rubens.
    Between 325 and 330.
17. *Constantine Destroying the Idols* – Pietro da Cortona.
    After 323 (?).
18. *The Death of Constantine, 337* – Rubens.
19. *The Triumph of Rome* – Rubens.
    Not included in the gift in 1625 and not woven in later Paris series.

It may be concluded, then, that the literary source for the *History of Constantine the Great*, although not known, did include, other than the generally accepted events in the life of the Emperor, events, particularly those connected with the *Vita Silvestri*, that of the Apparition, Saint Helena and the Baptism, which are purely legendary. As the growth of legends is one of combination and alteration it is not surprising that the direct source used parts of these legends together with events described in Eusebius.

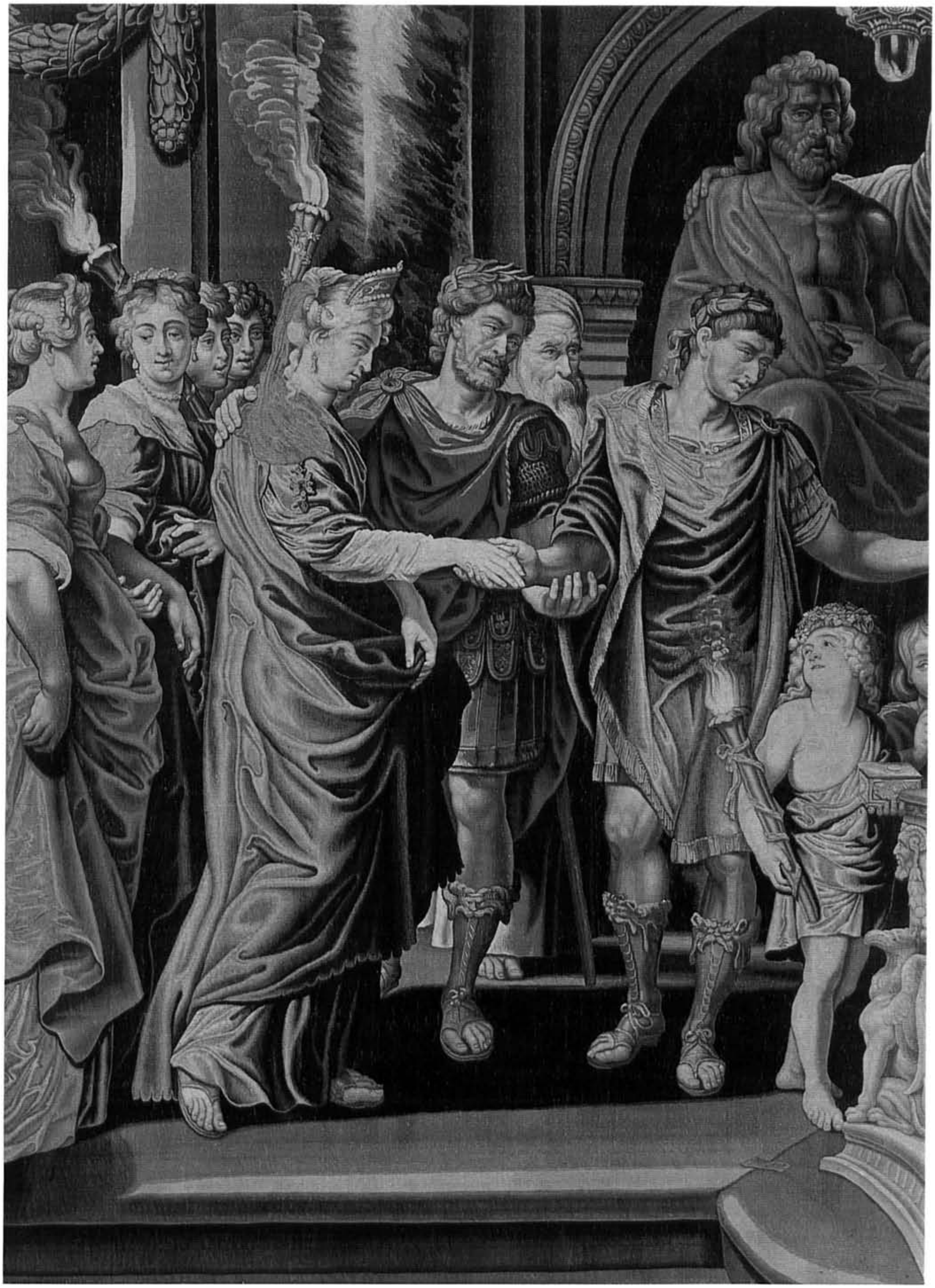
The possibility that Constantine may have been an allusion to Louis XIII must be ruled out; the life of the King does not warrant such an association. Also, the possibility that the events depicted in the five Roman panels were chosen to conform to the life of Urban VIII must be excluded as no parallel exists in this connection either. The choice of Constantine as the subject for the French panels very possibly had some relation to Constantine's rule of the western provinces, in the 'native son' tradition. Primarily, however, the choice of Constantine was because of his place as the first Christian Emperor, with, one assumes, parallels to the position of Louis XIII as King and Urban VIII as Pope.



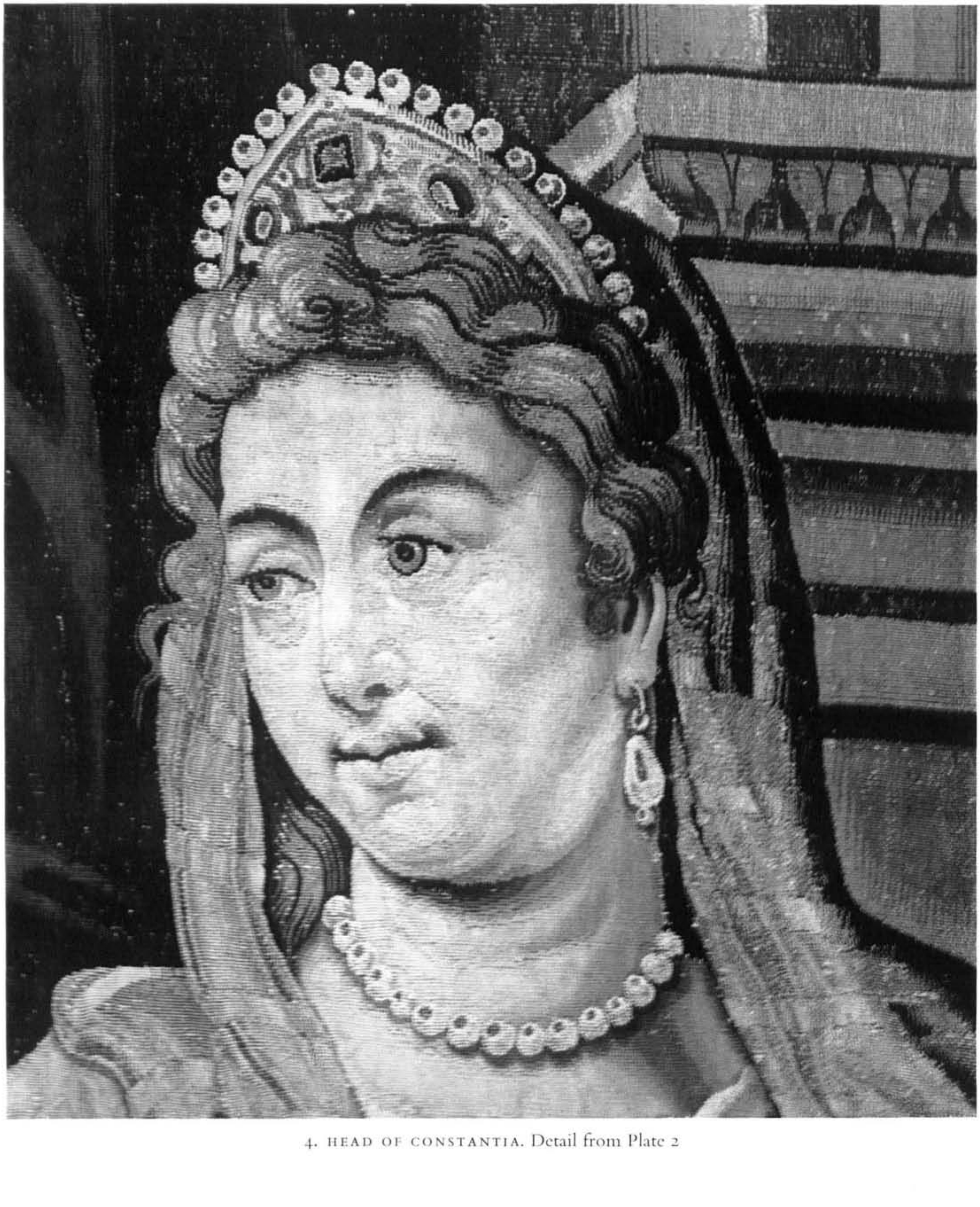
1. BOY BLOWING HORNS. Detail from Plate 2



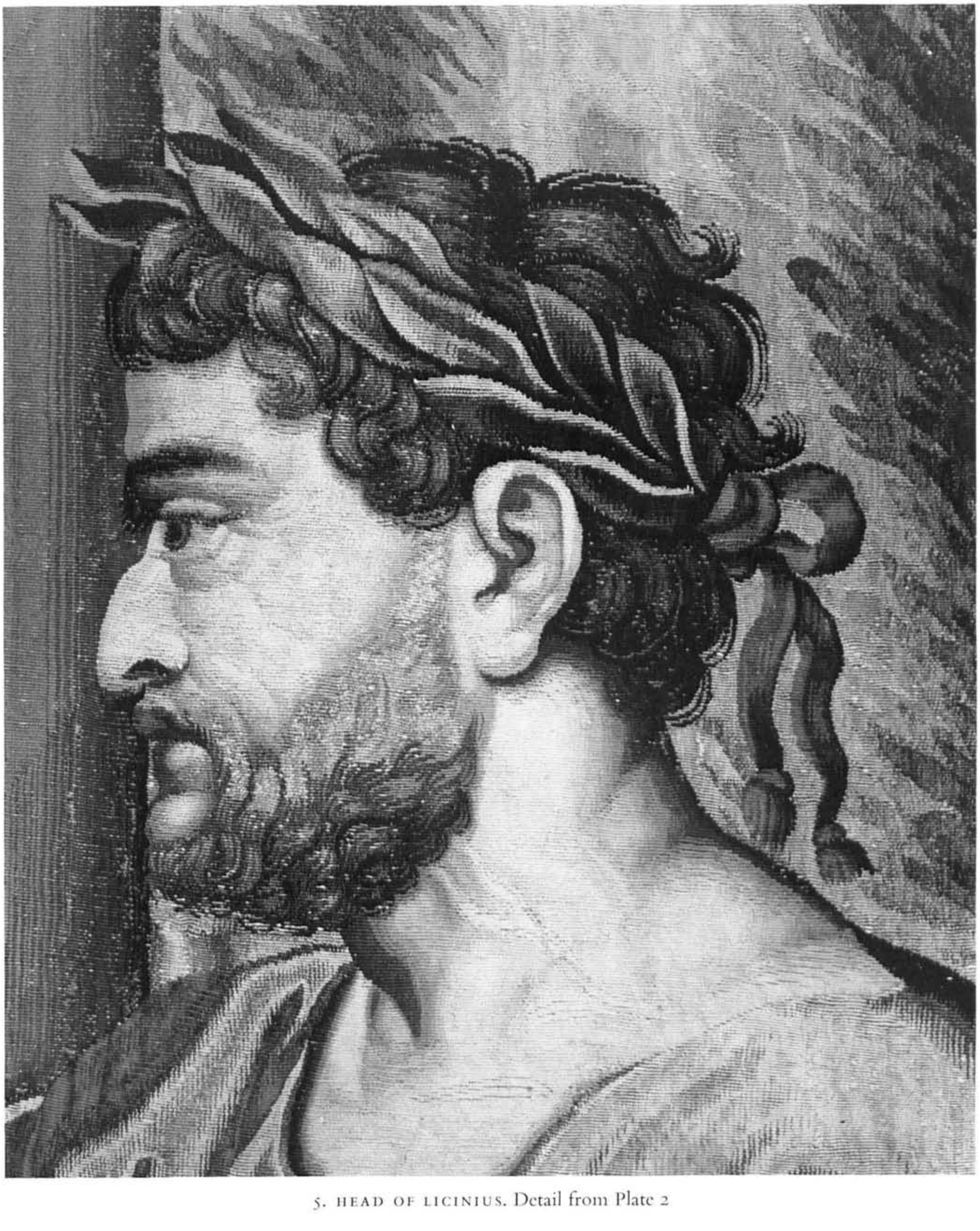
2. THE MARRIAGE OF CONSTANTINE (Cat.no.1)



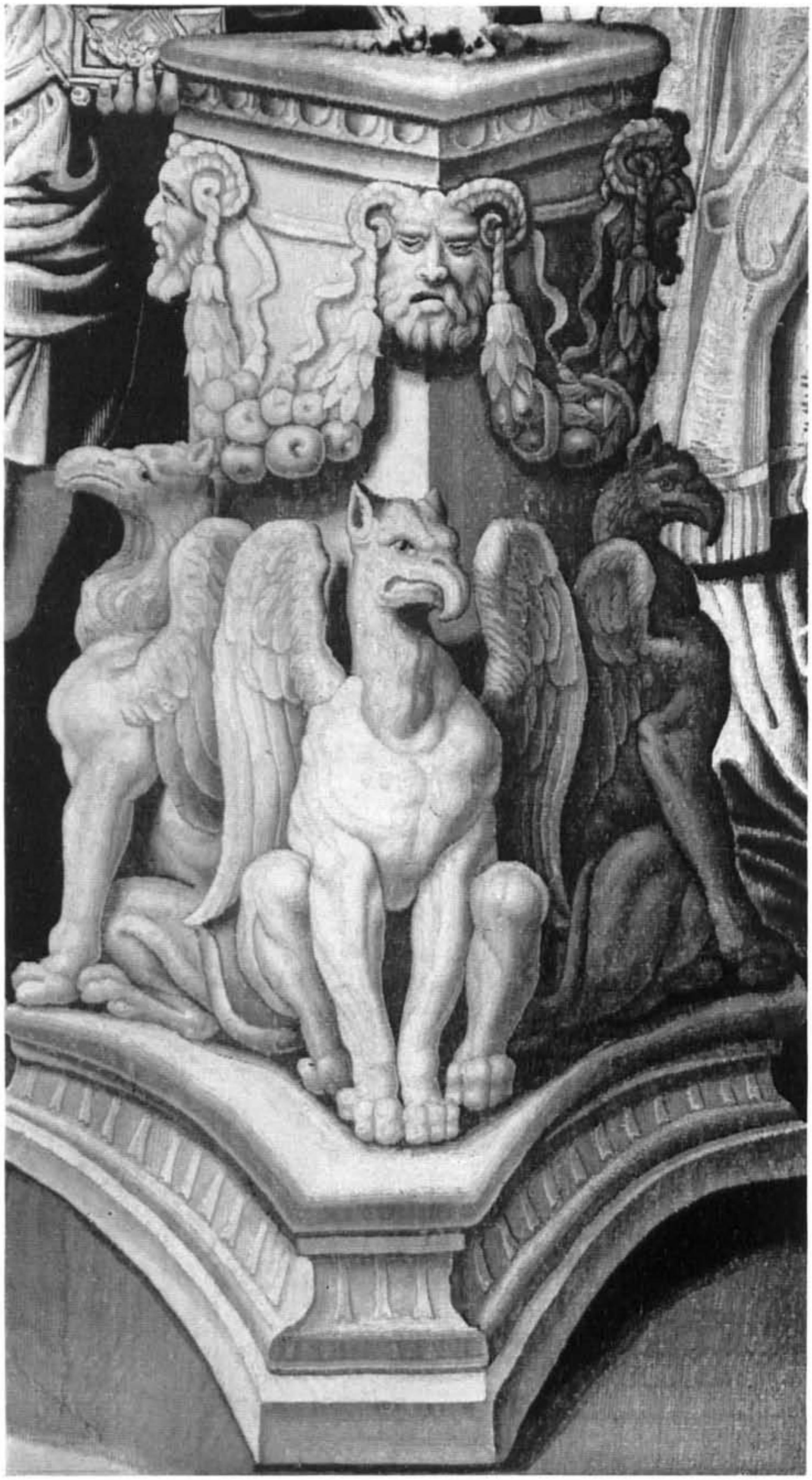
3. FAUSTA, MAXIMIANUS, CONSTANTINE AND BYSTANDERS. Detail from Plate 2



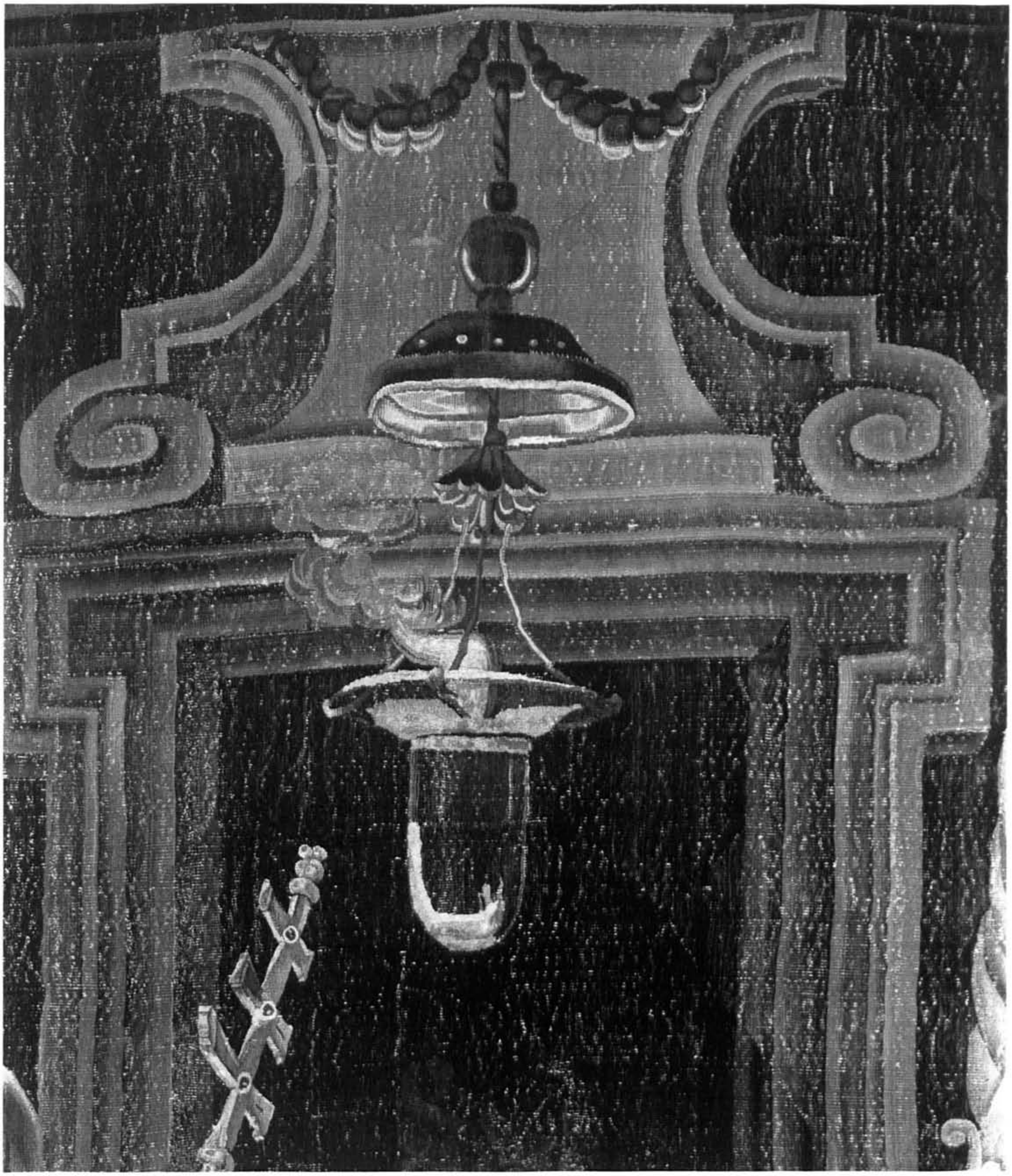
4. HEAD OF CONSTANTIA. Detail from Plate 2



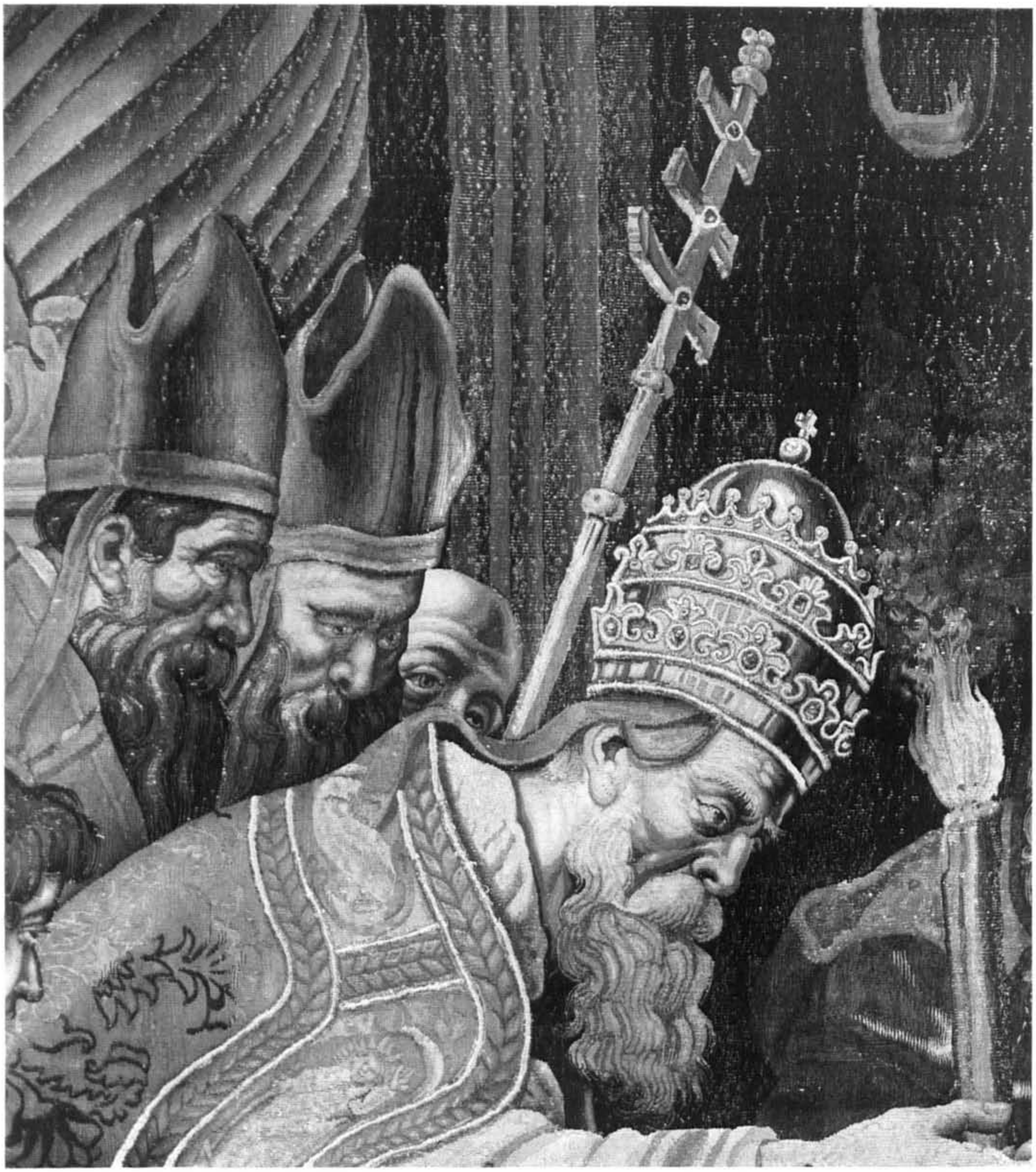
5. HEAD OF LICINIUS. Detail from Plate 2



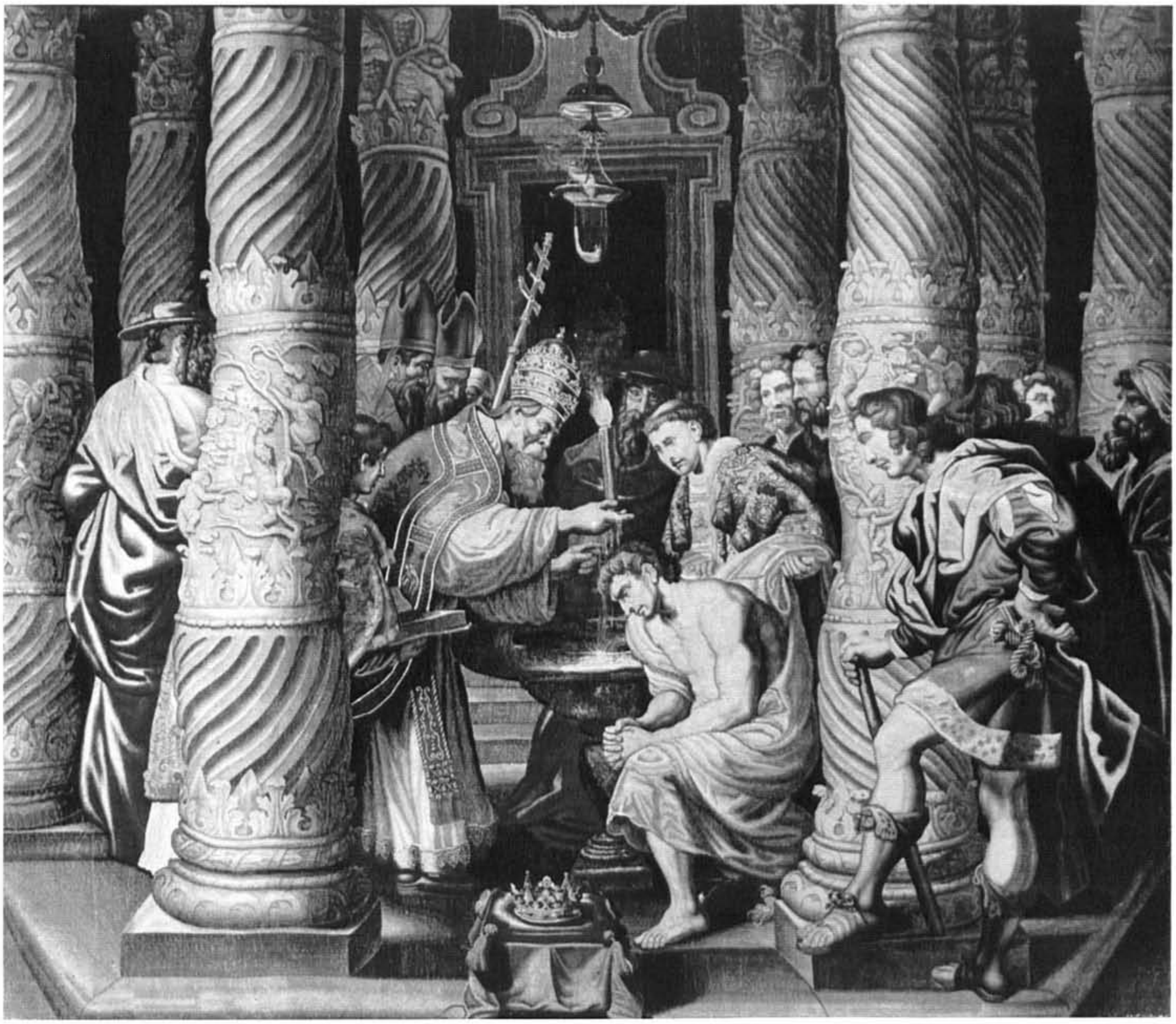
6. ALTAR WITH GRIFFINS, HORNED MASKS AND GARLANDS. Detail from Plate 2



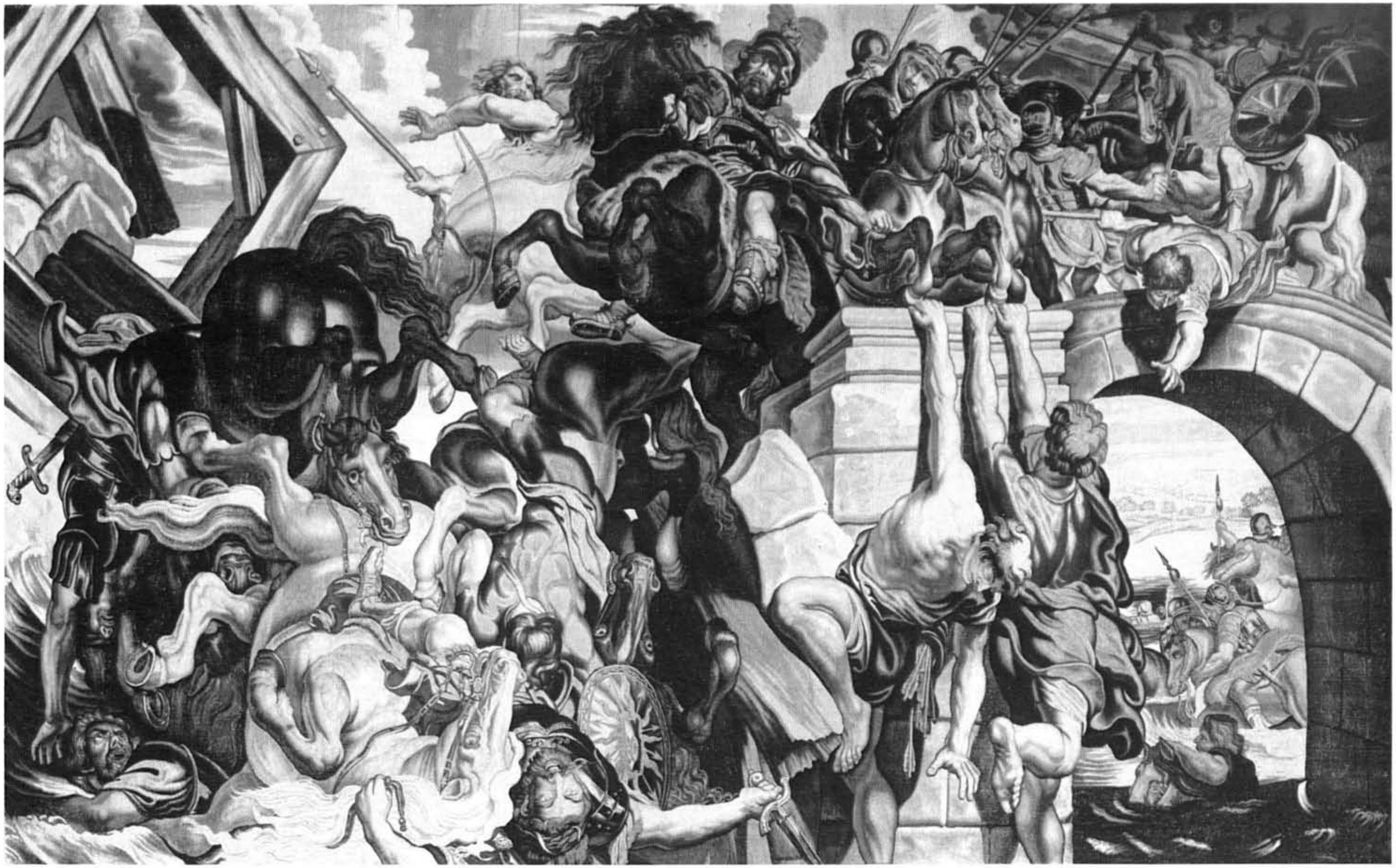
7. LAMP AND DOORWAY. Detail from Plate 9



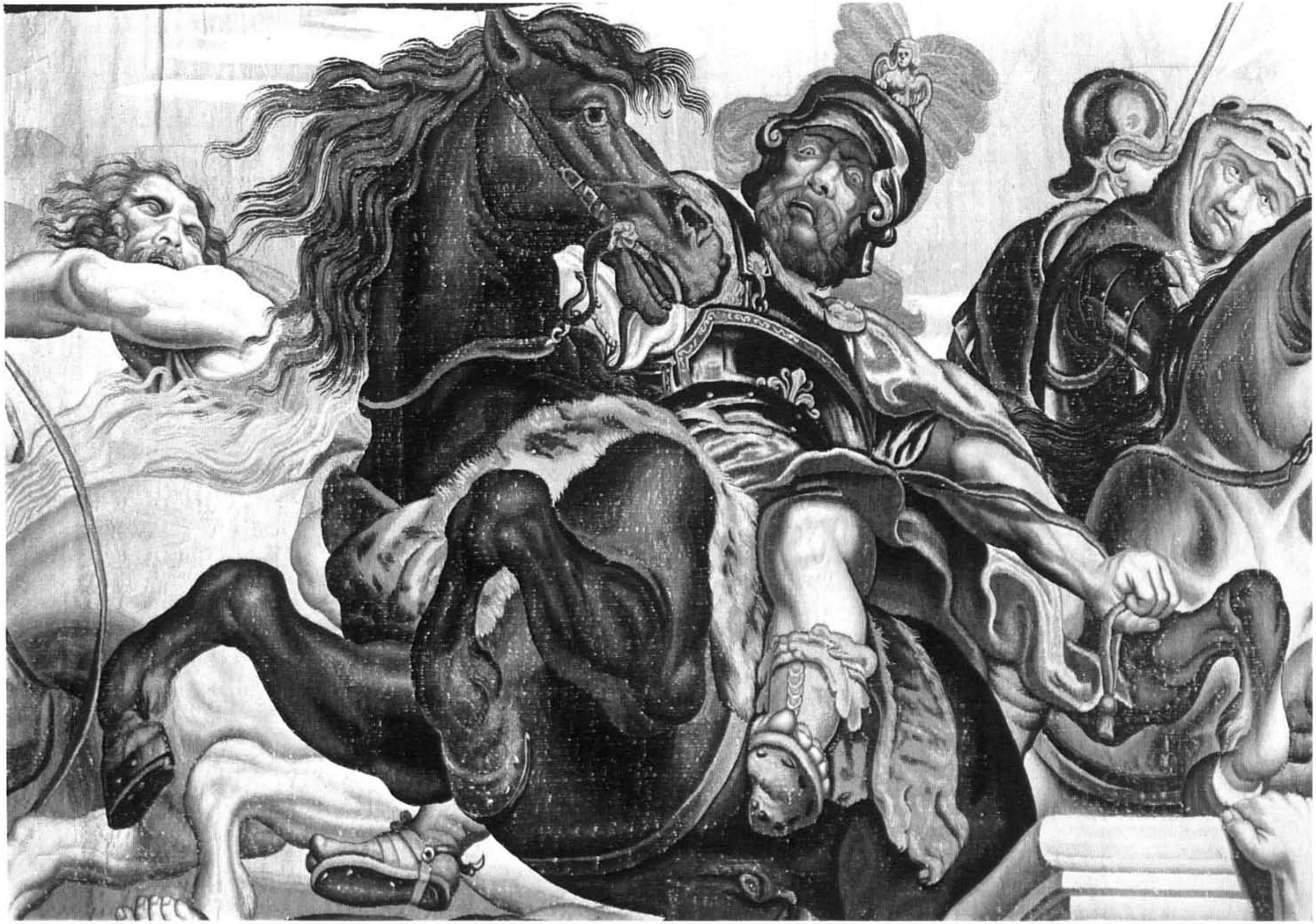
8. POPE SYLVESTER AND TWO BISHOPS. Detail from Plate 9



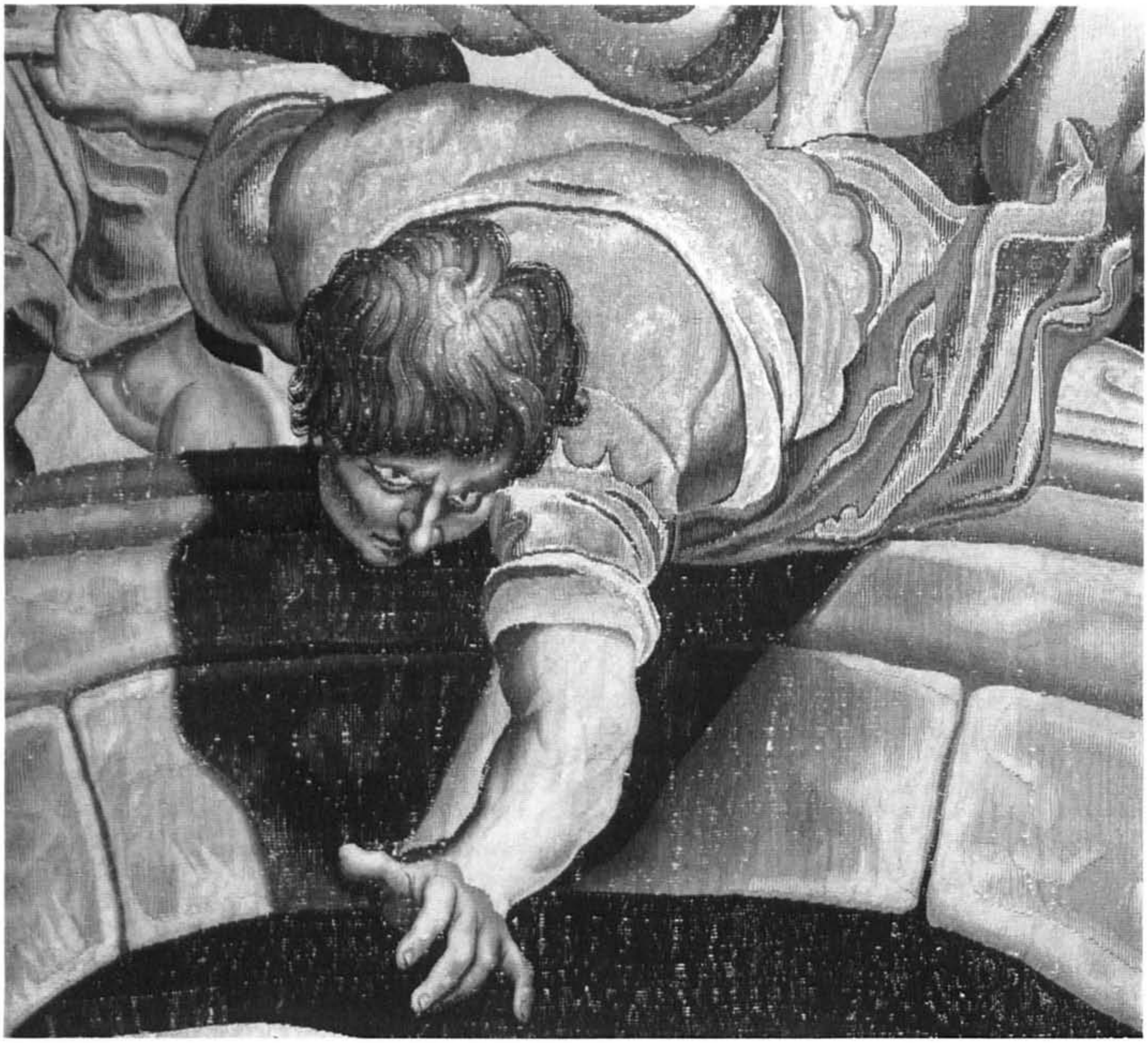
9. THE BAPTISM OF CONSTANTINE (Cat.no.2)



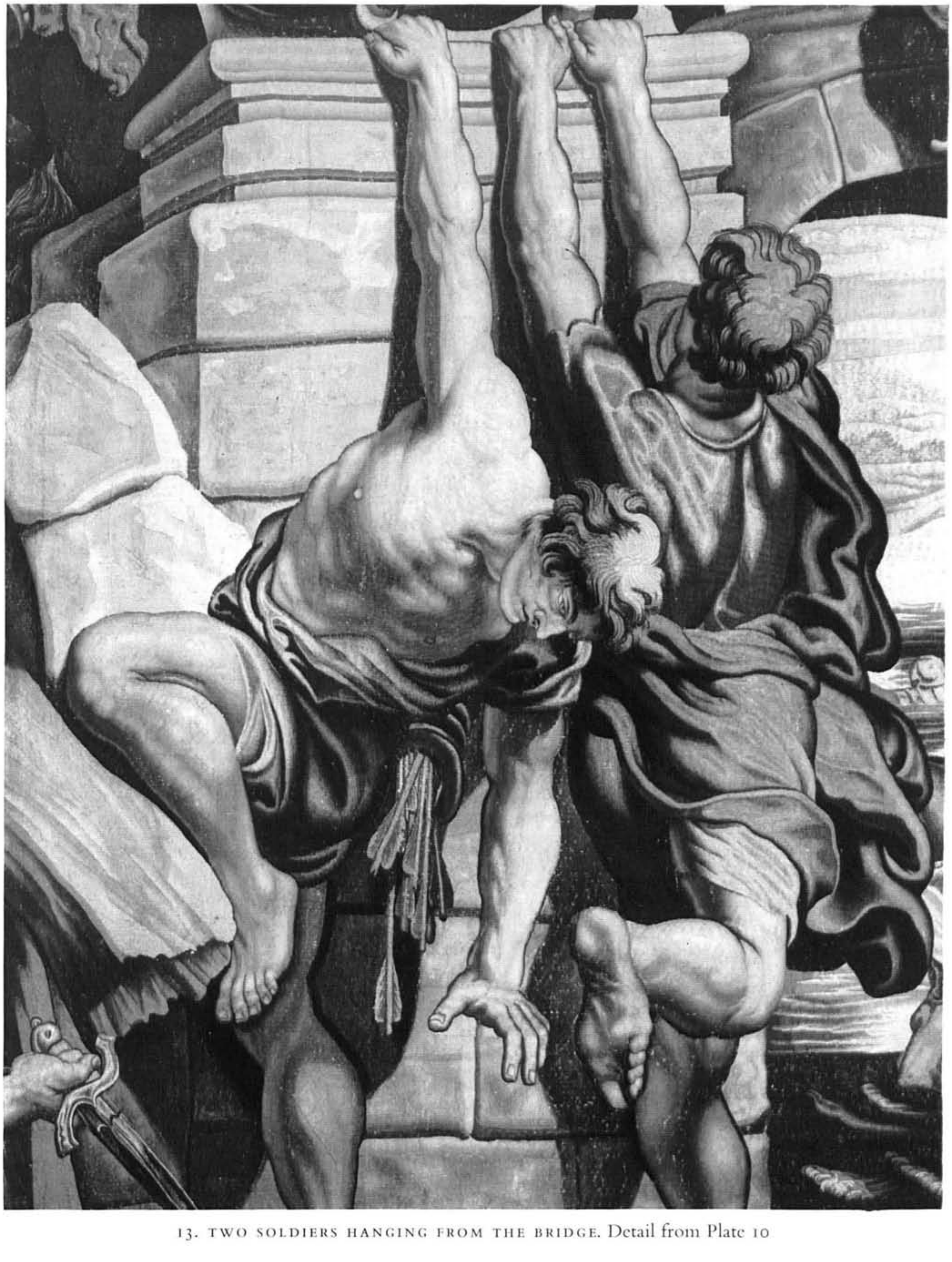
10. THE BATTLE OF THE MILVIAN BRIDGE (Cat.no.3)



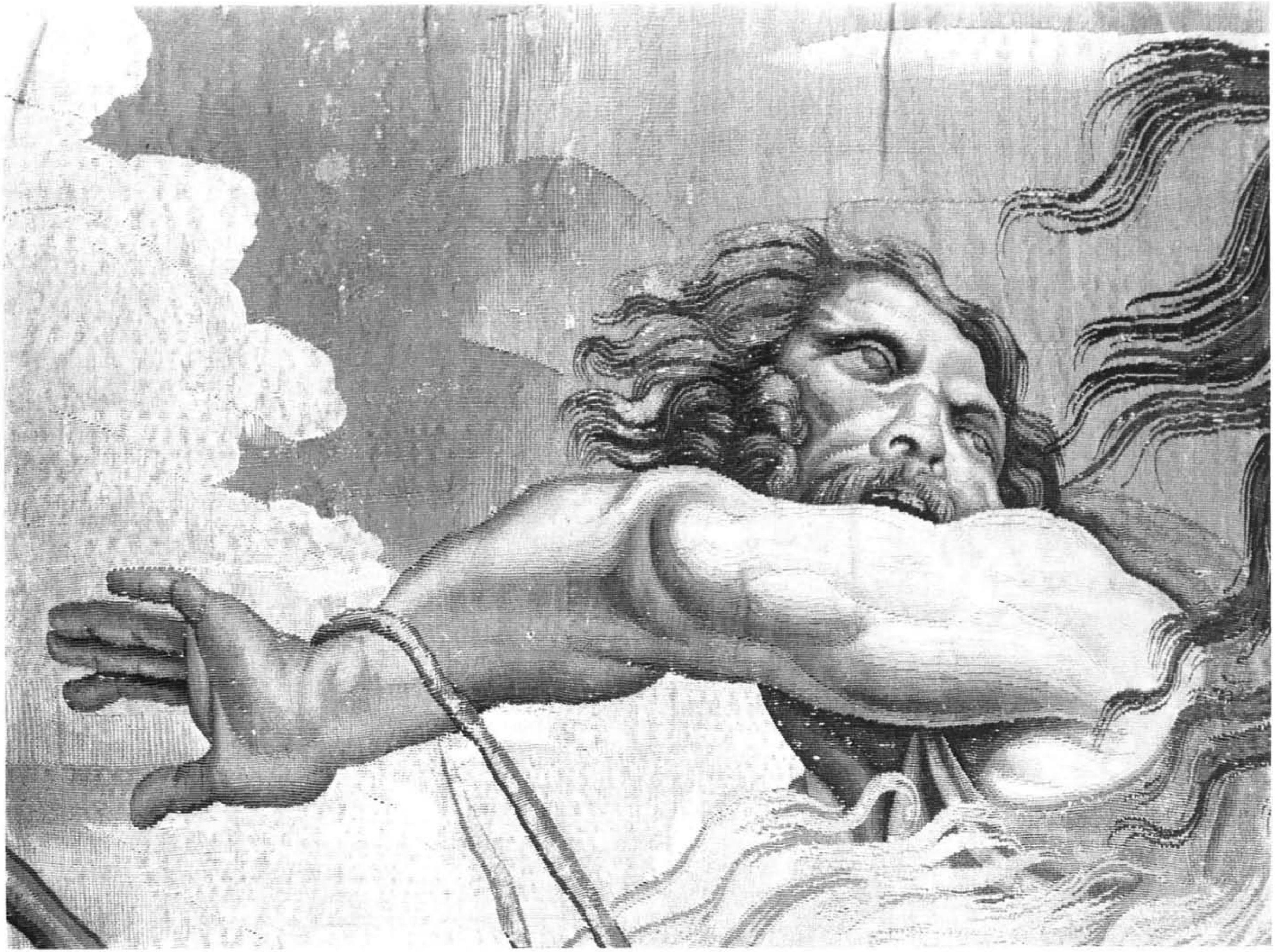
11. MOUNTED SOLDIER. Detail of Plate 10



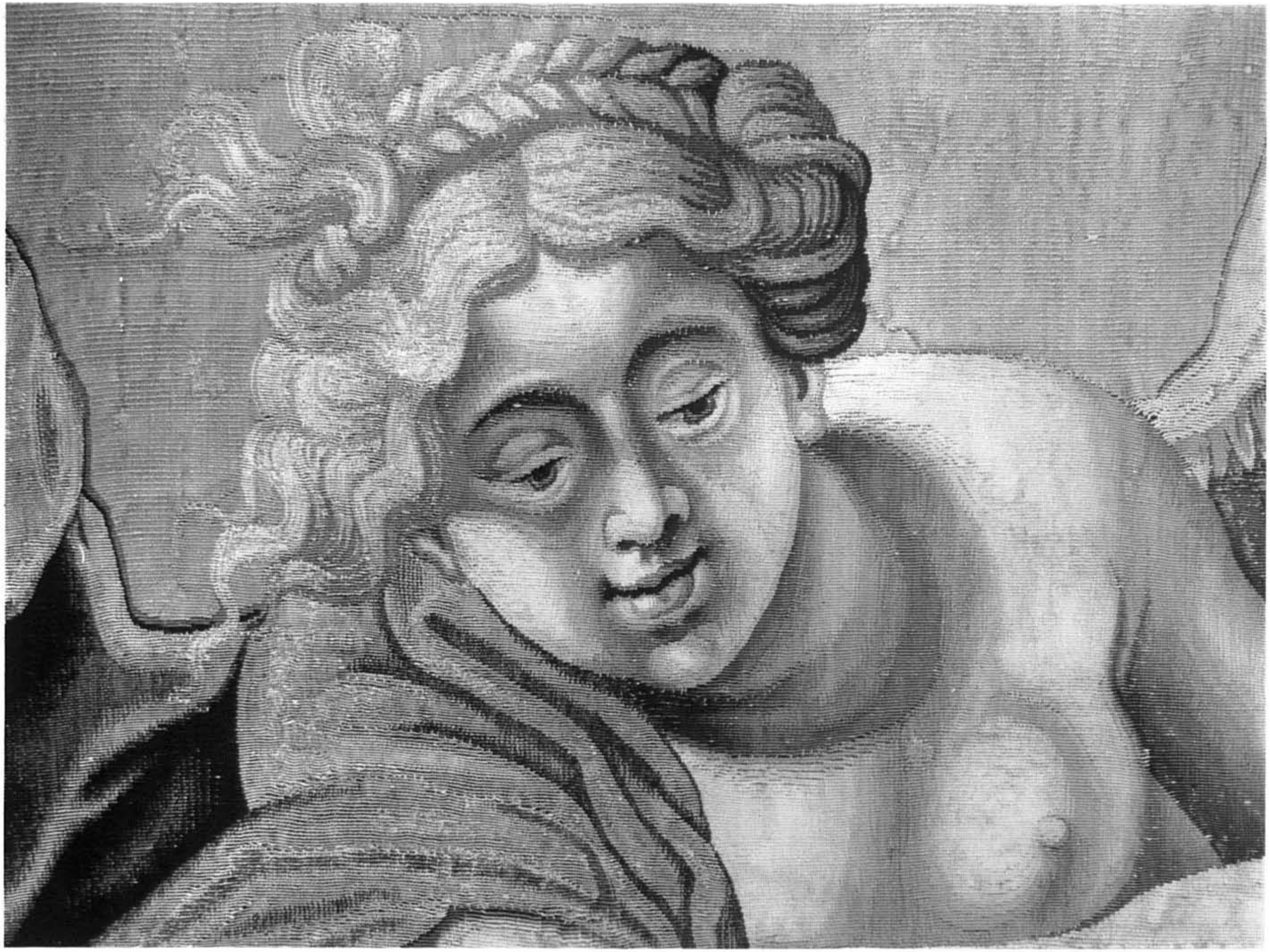
12. FALLING SOLDIER. Detail of Plate 10



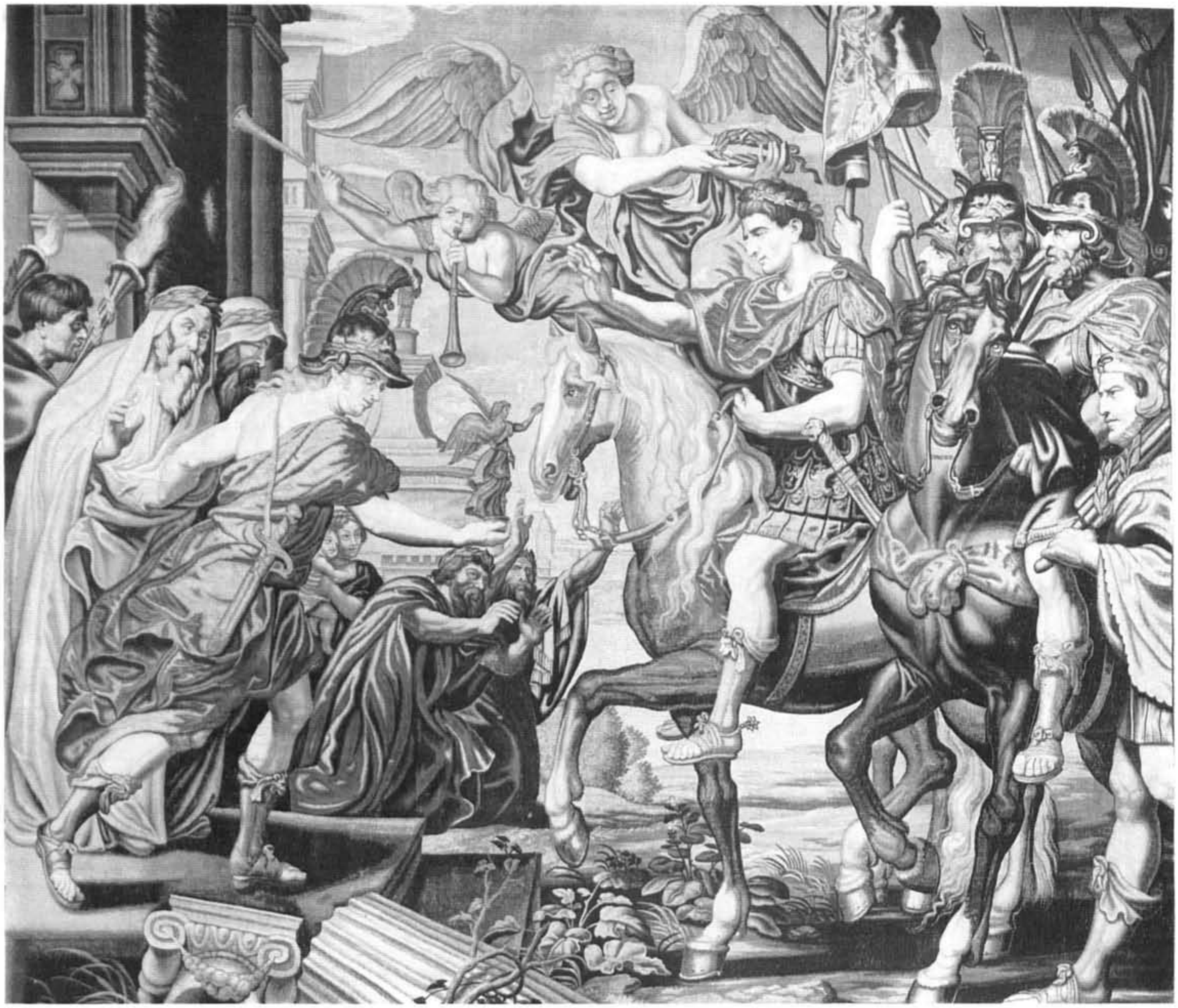
13. TWO SOLDIERS HANGING FROM THE BRIDGE. Detail from Plate 10



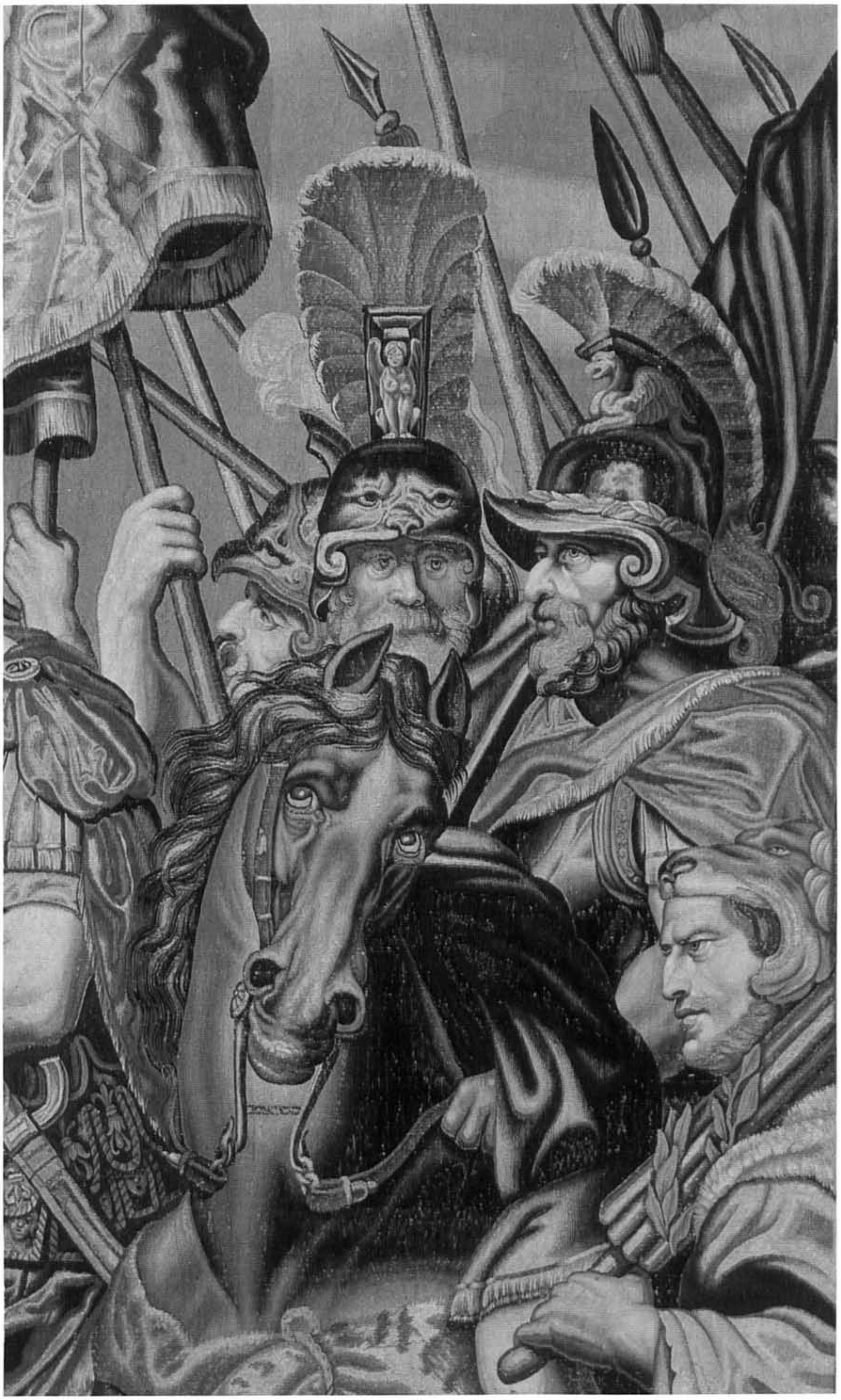
14. HEAD AND ARM OF SOLDIER. Detail from Plate 10



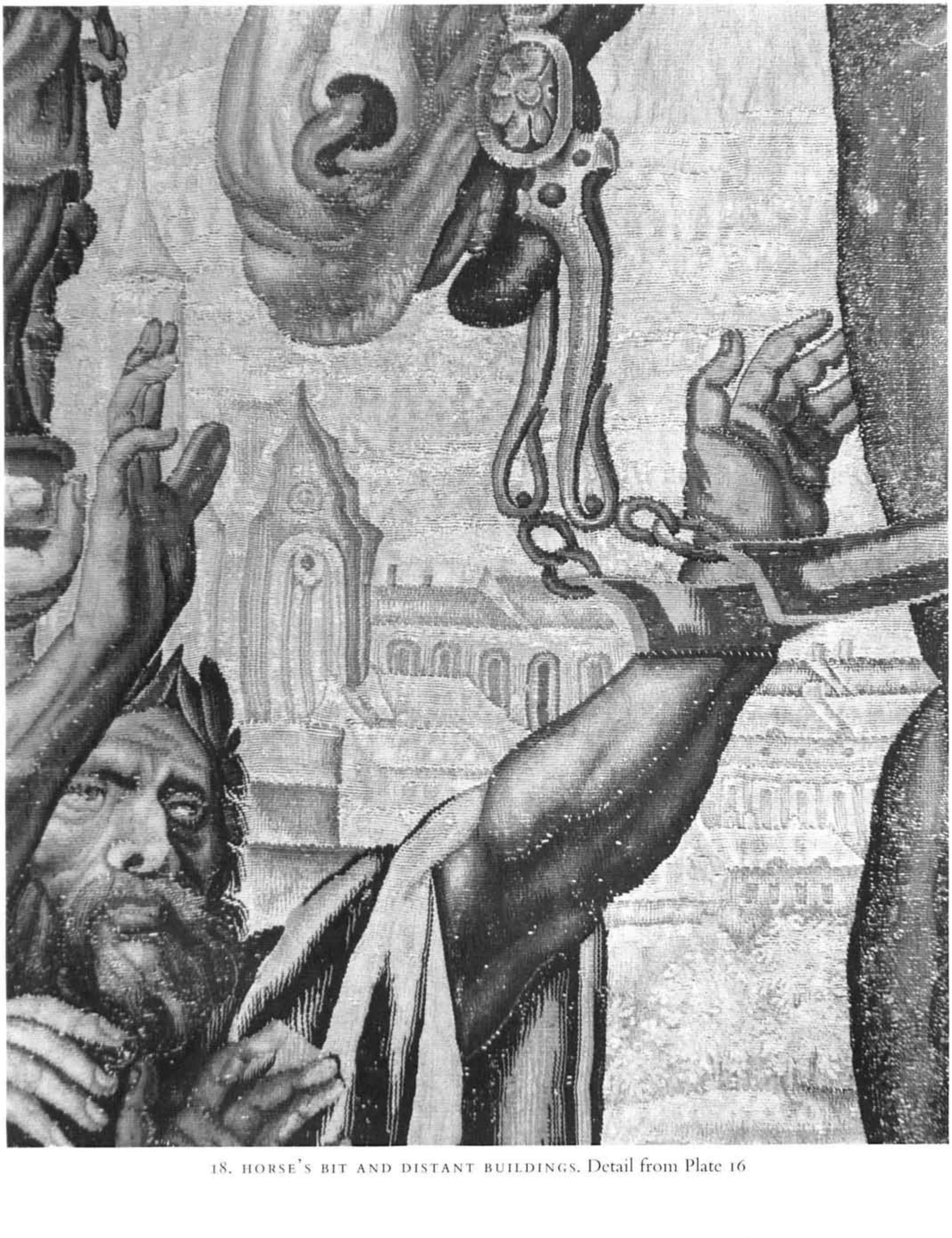
15. HEAD OF WINGED VICTORY. Detail from Plate 16



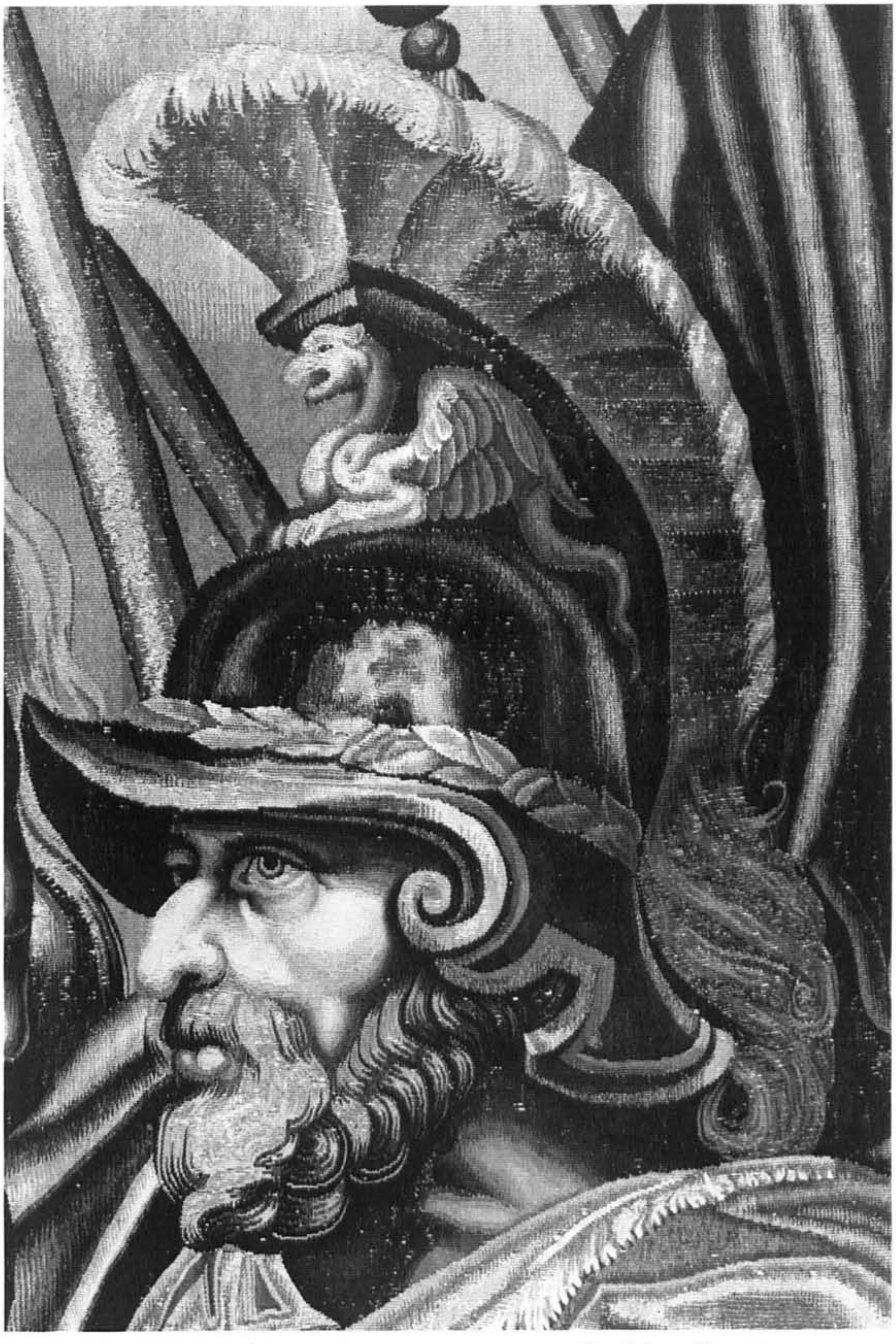
16. THE ENTRY INTO ROME (Cat.no.4)



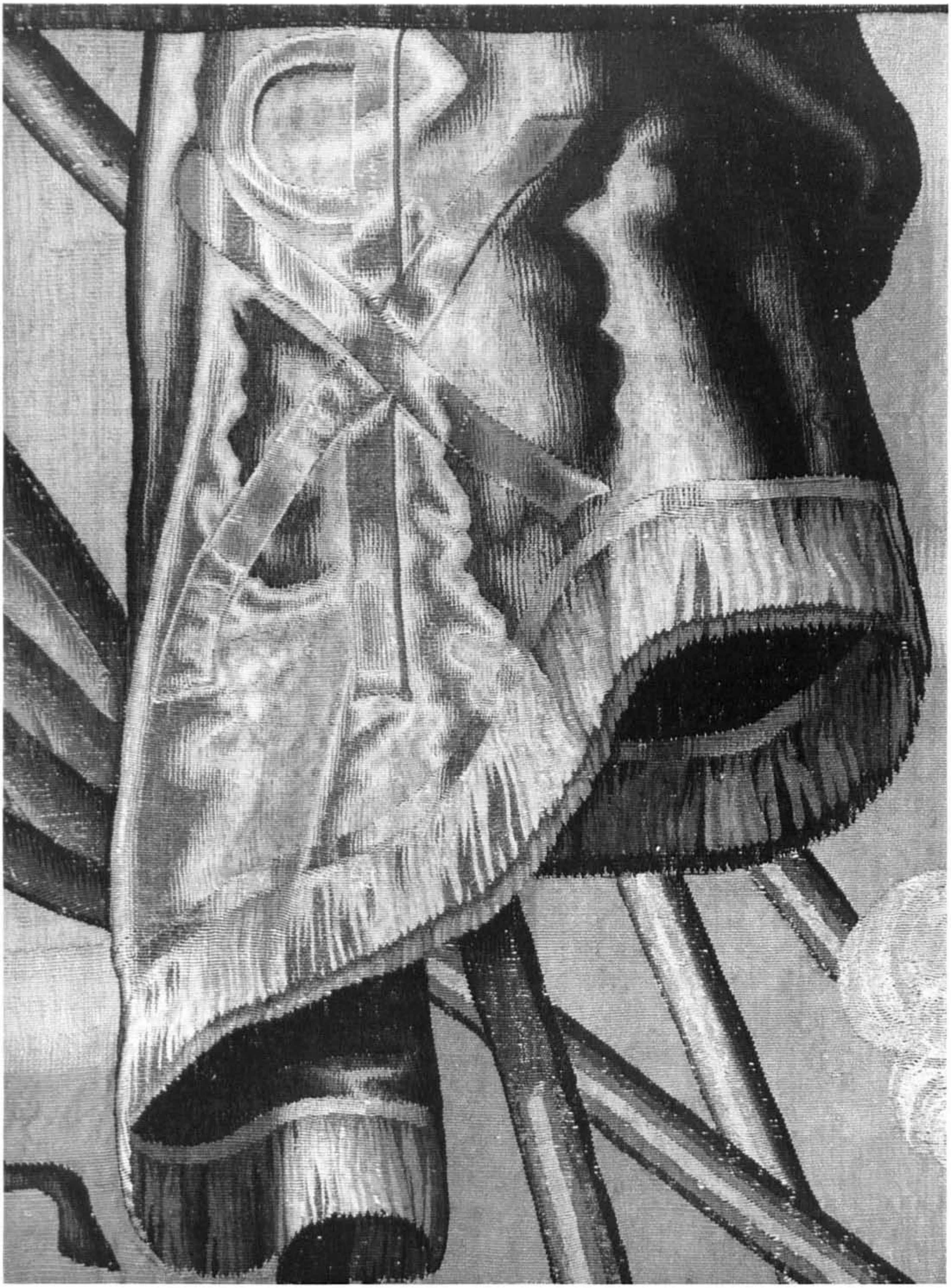
17. MOUNTED IMPERIAL GUARDS WITH PLUMED HELMETS. Detail from Plate 16



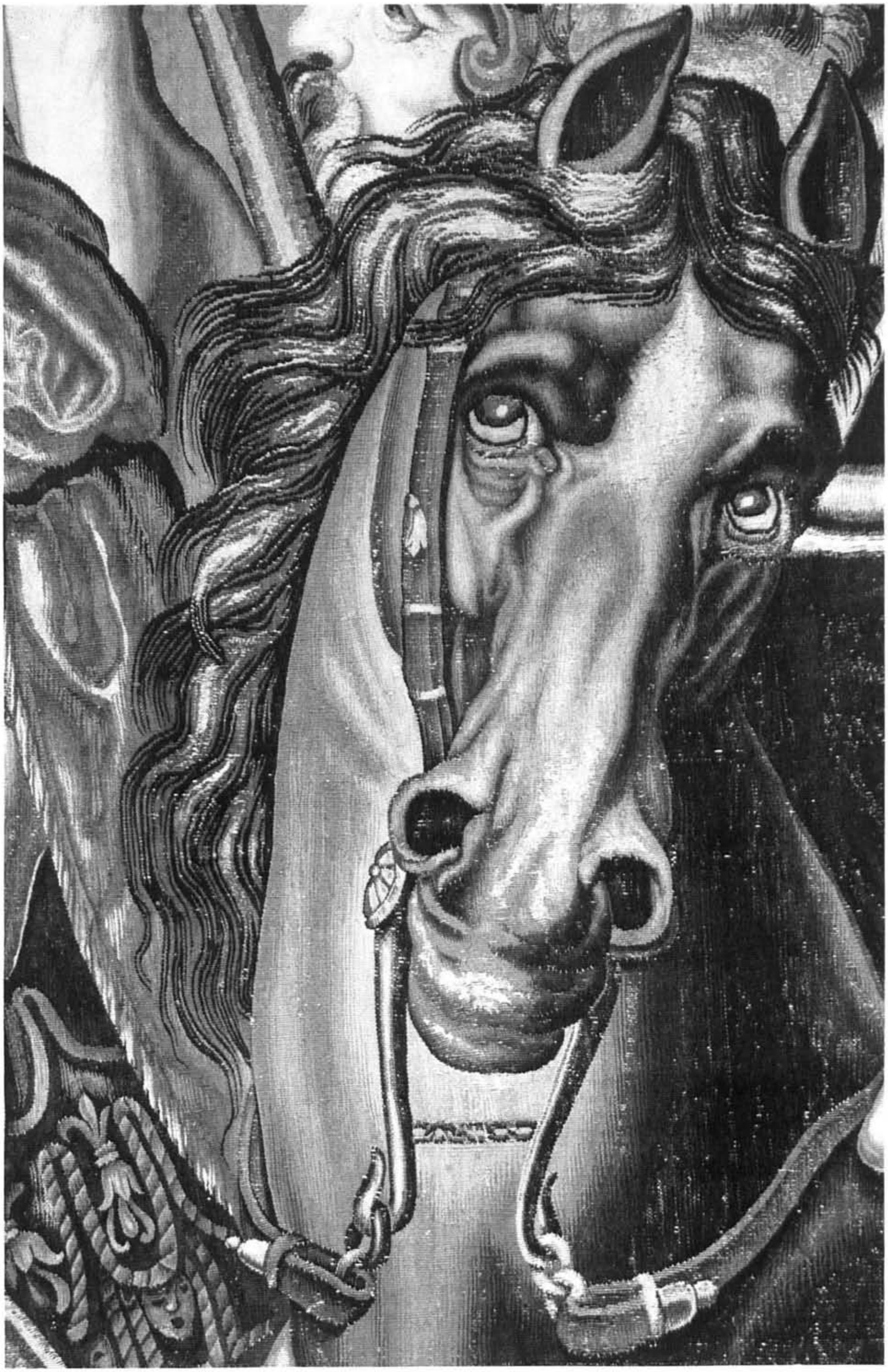
18. HORSE'S BIT AND DISTANT BUILDINGS. Detail from Plate 16



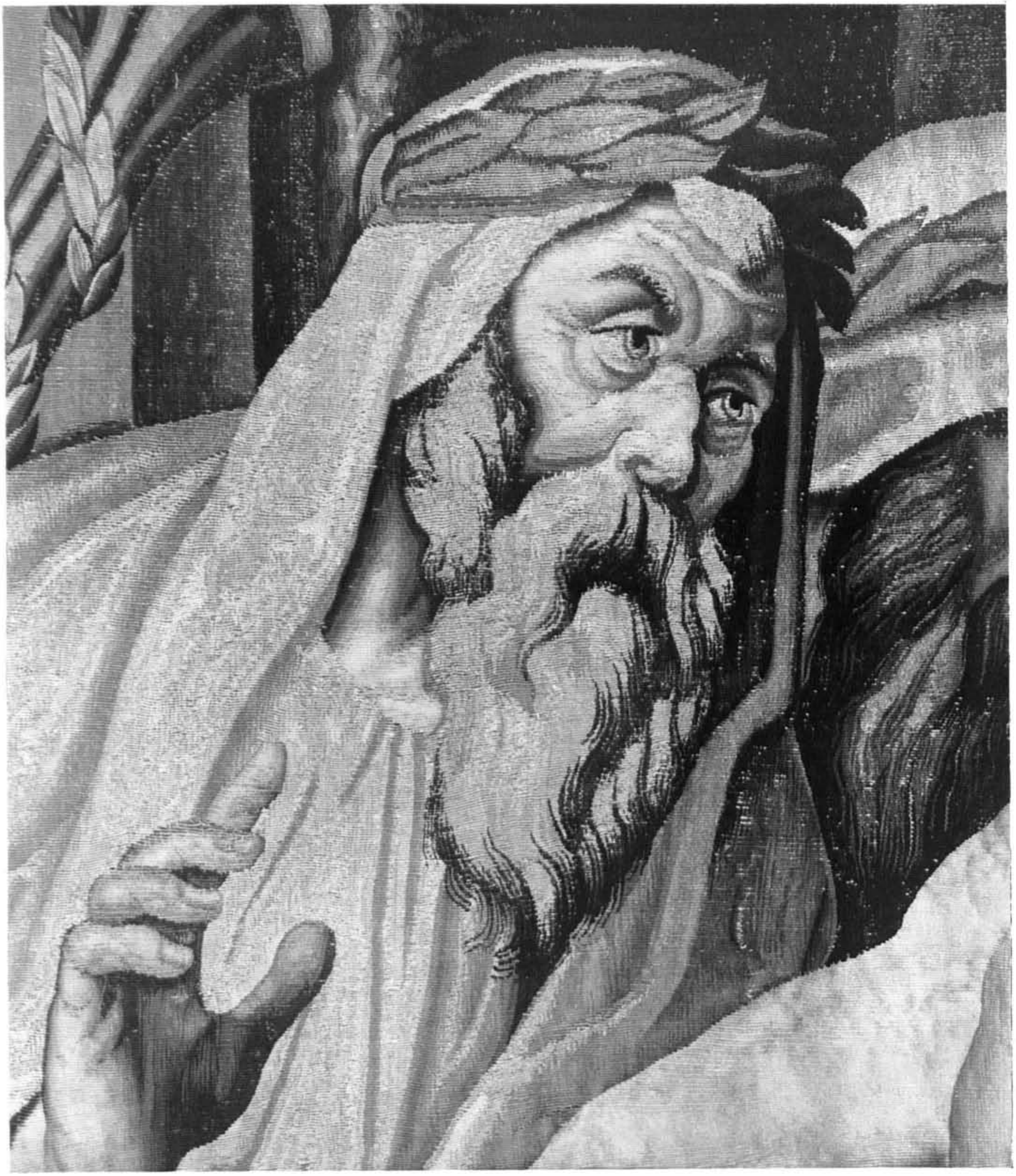
19. SOLDIER'S HEAD WITH PLUMED HELMET. Detail from Plate 16



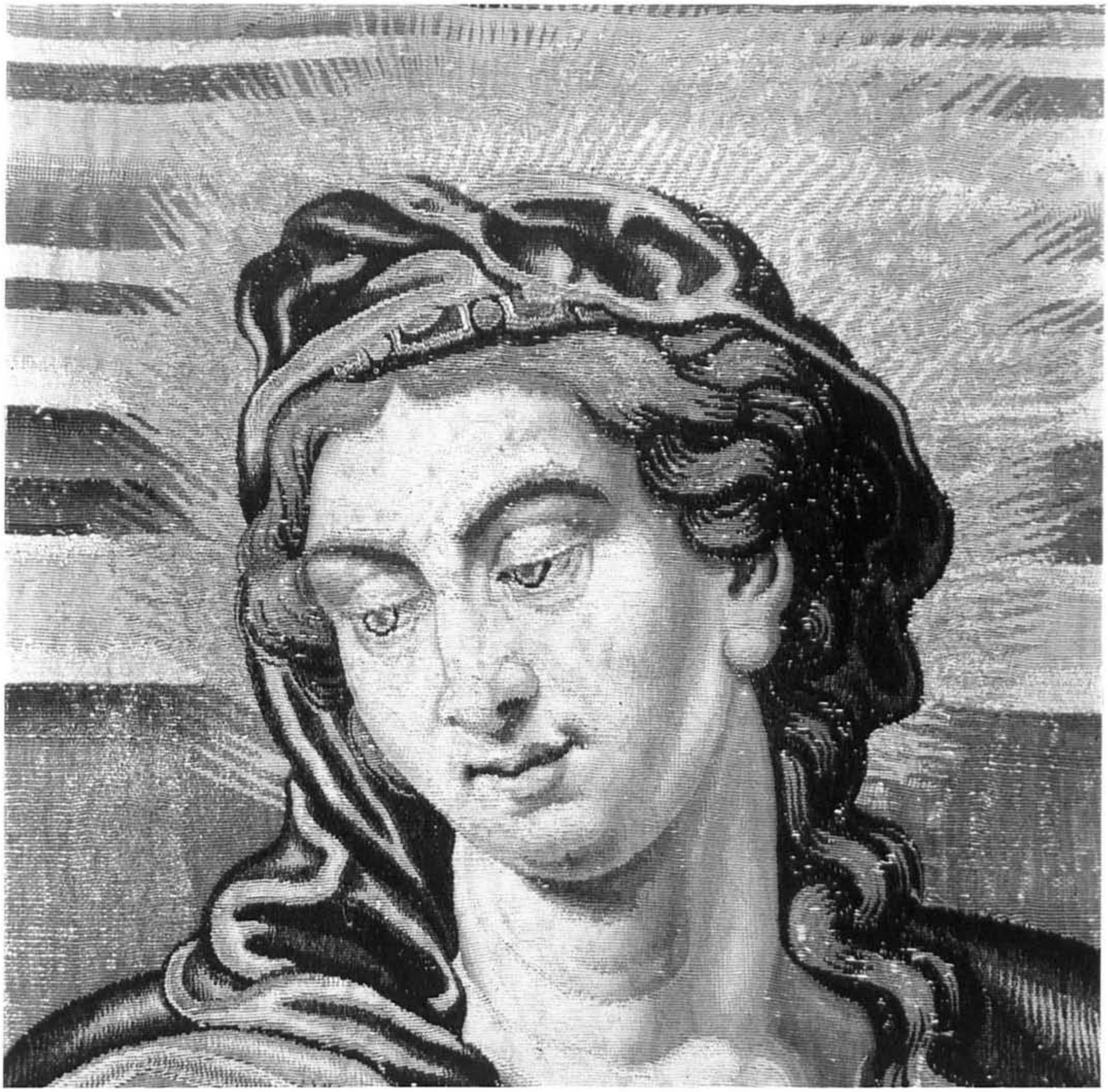
20. BANNER DISPLAYING MONOGRAM OF CHRIST. Detail from Plate 16



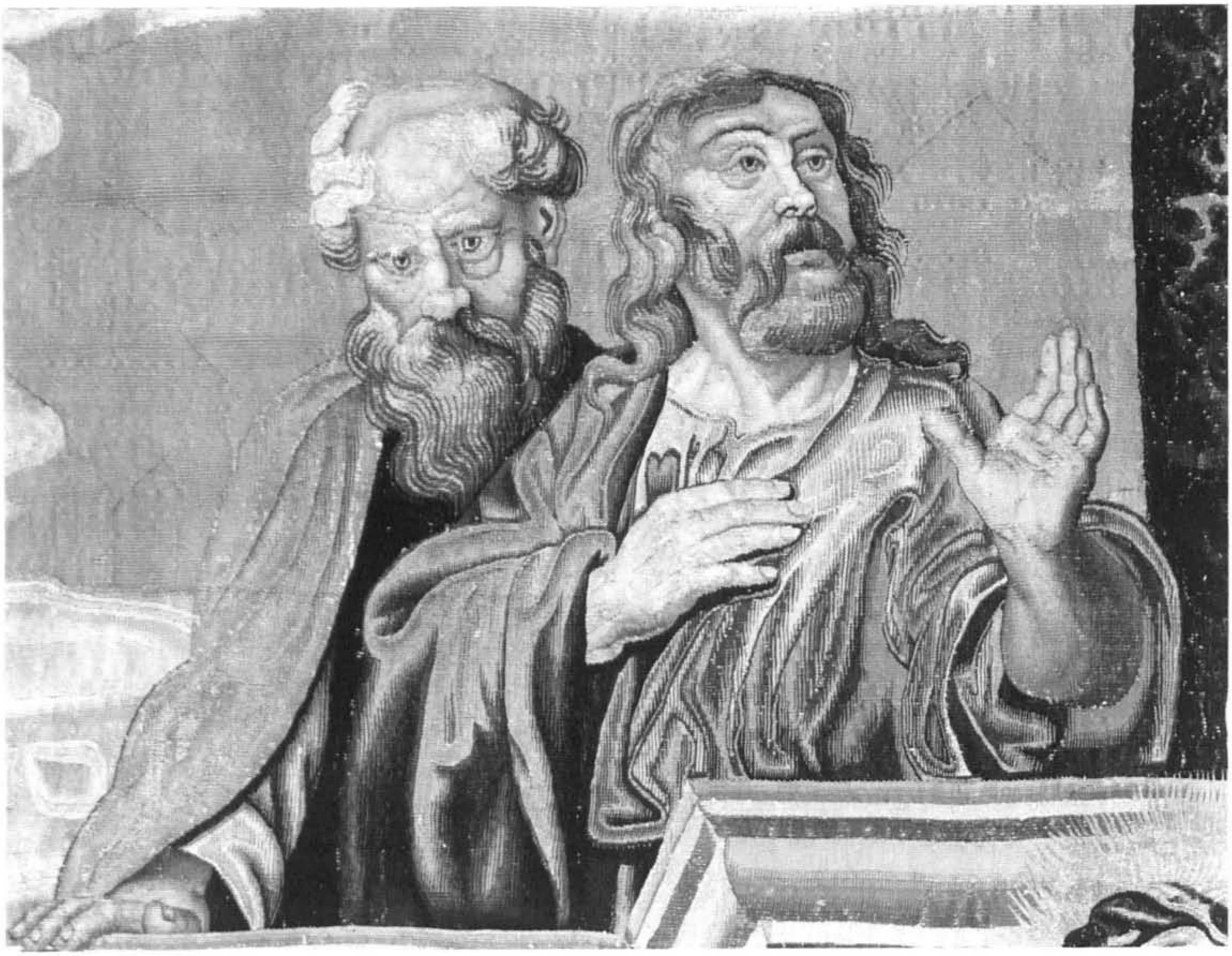
21. HORSE'S HEAD. Detail from Plate 16



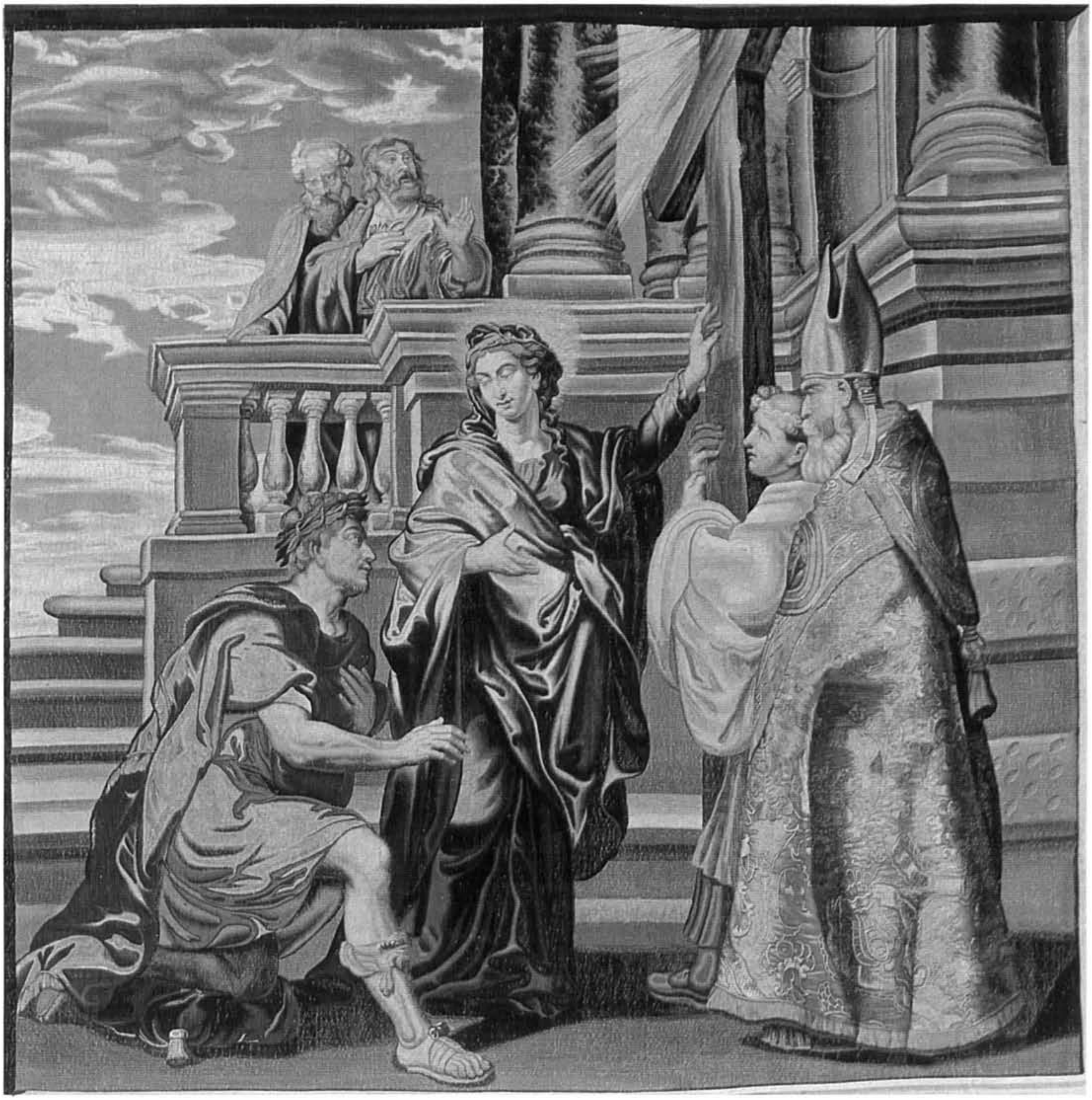
22. HEAD OF A MAN. Detail from Plate 16



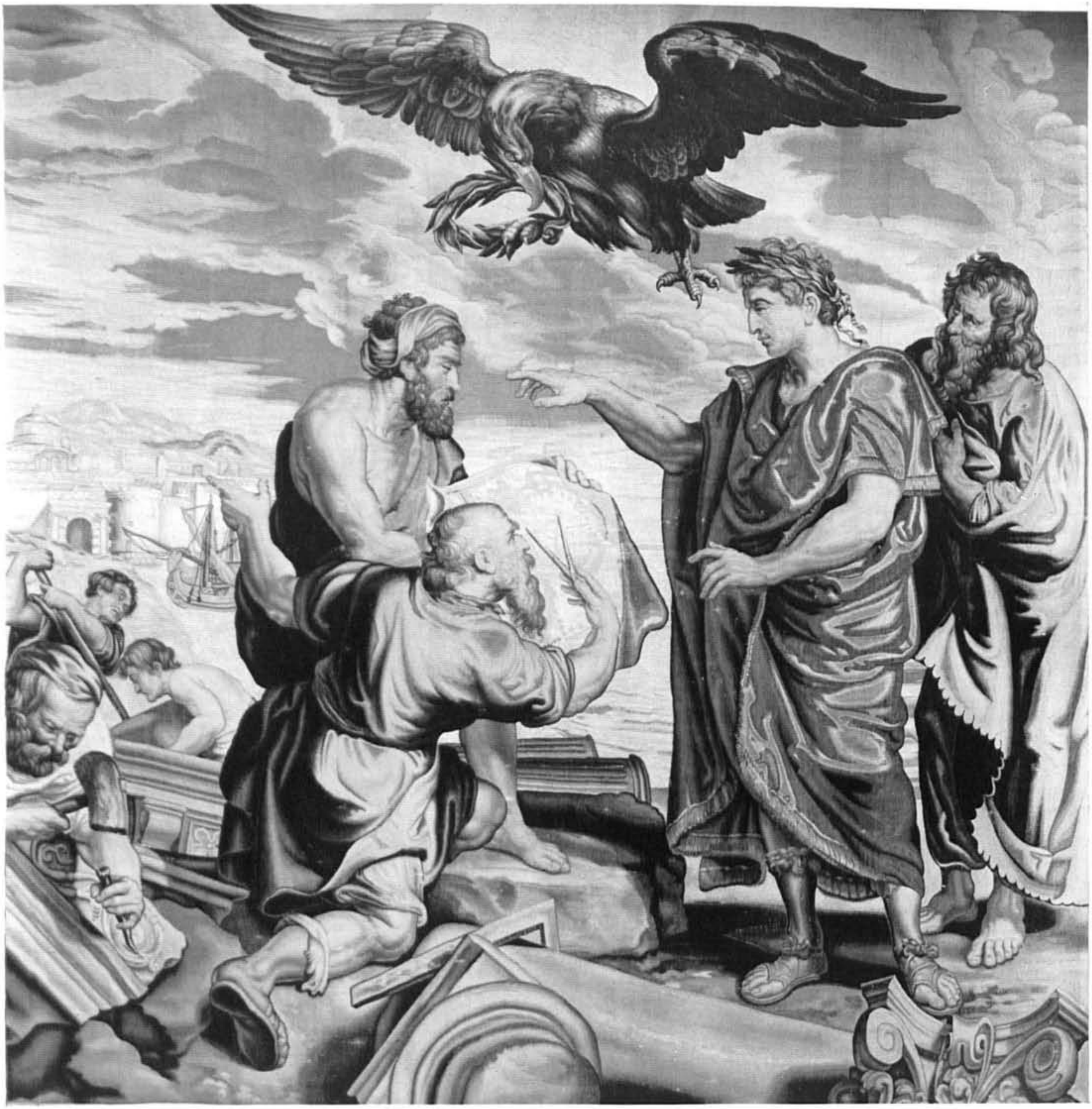
23. HEAD OF SAINT HELENA. Detail from Plate 25



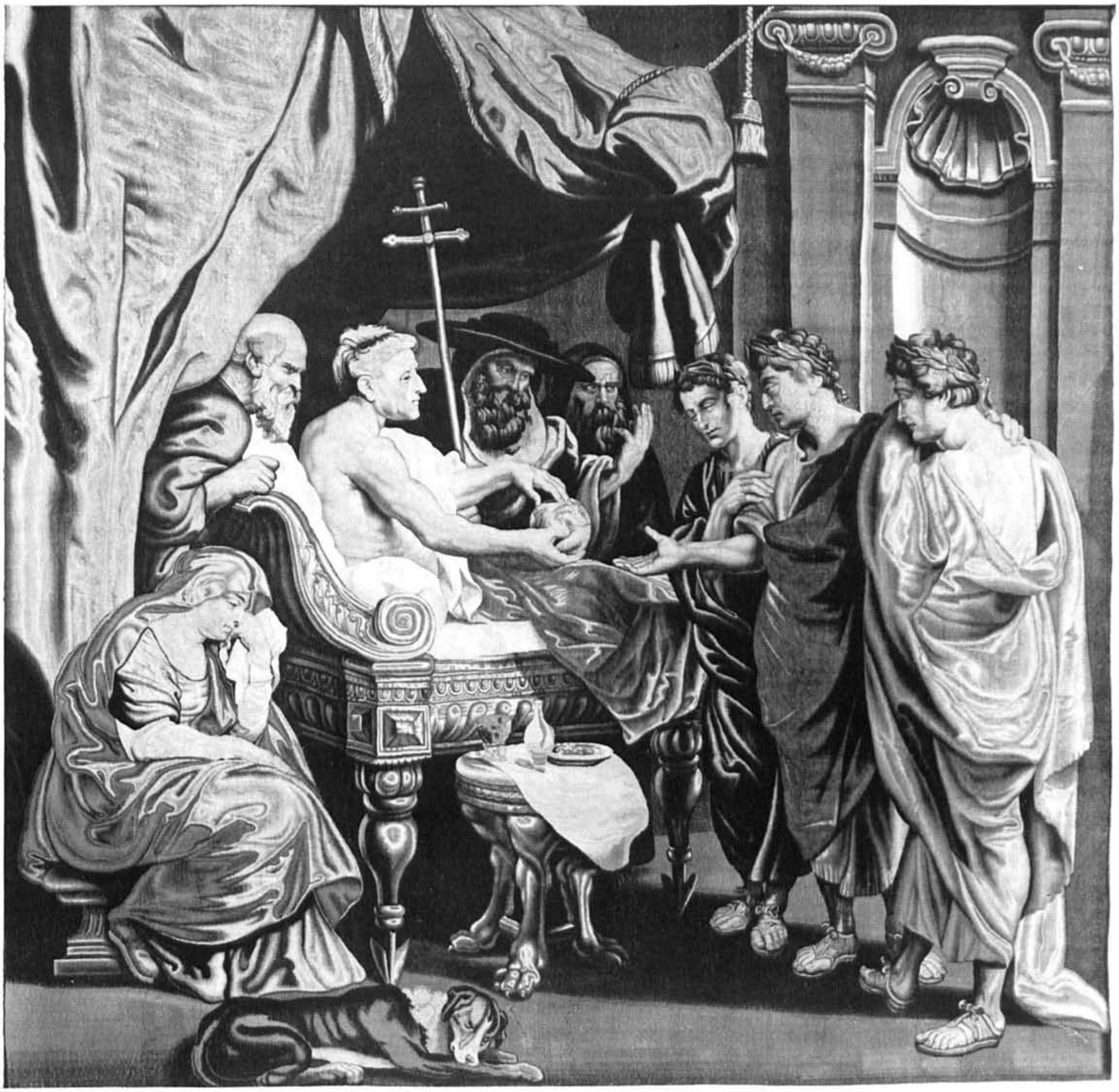
24. TWO SPECTATORS. Detail from Plate 25



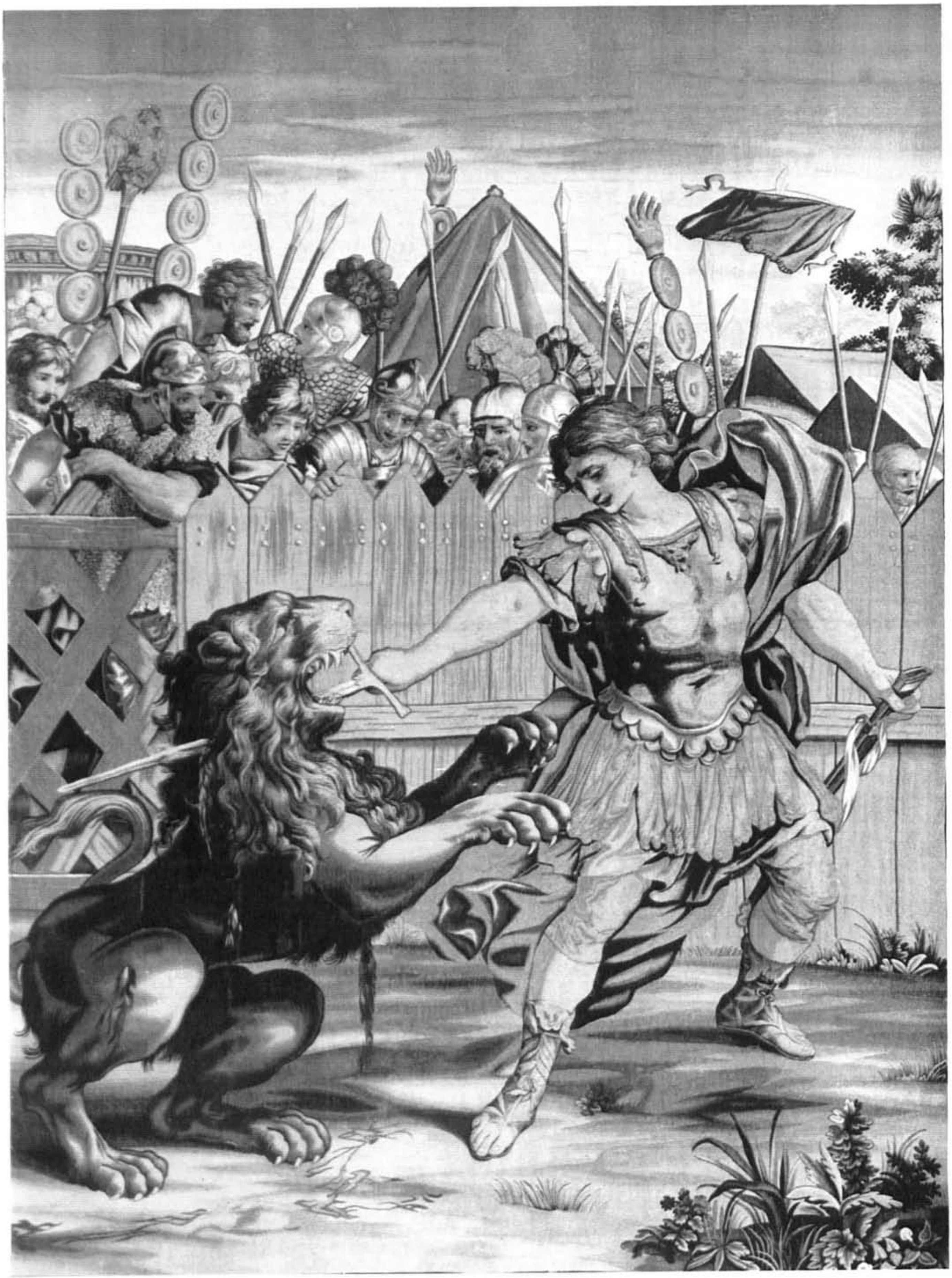
25. SAINT HELENA AND THE TRUE CROSS (Cat.no.5)



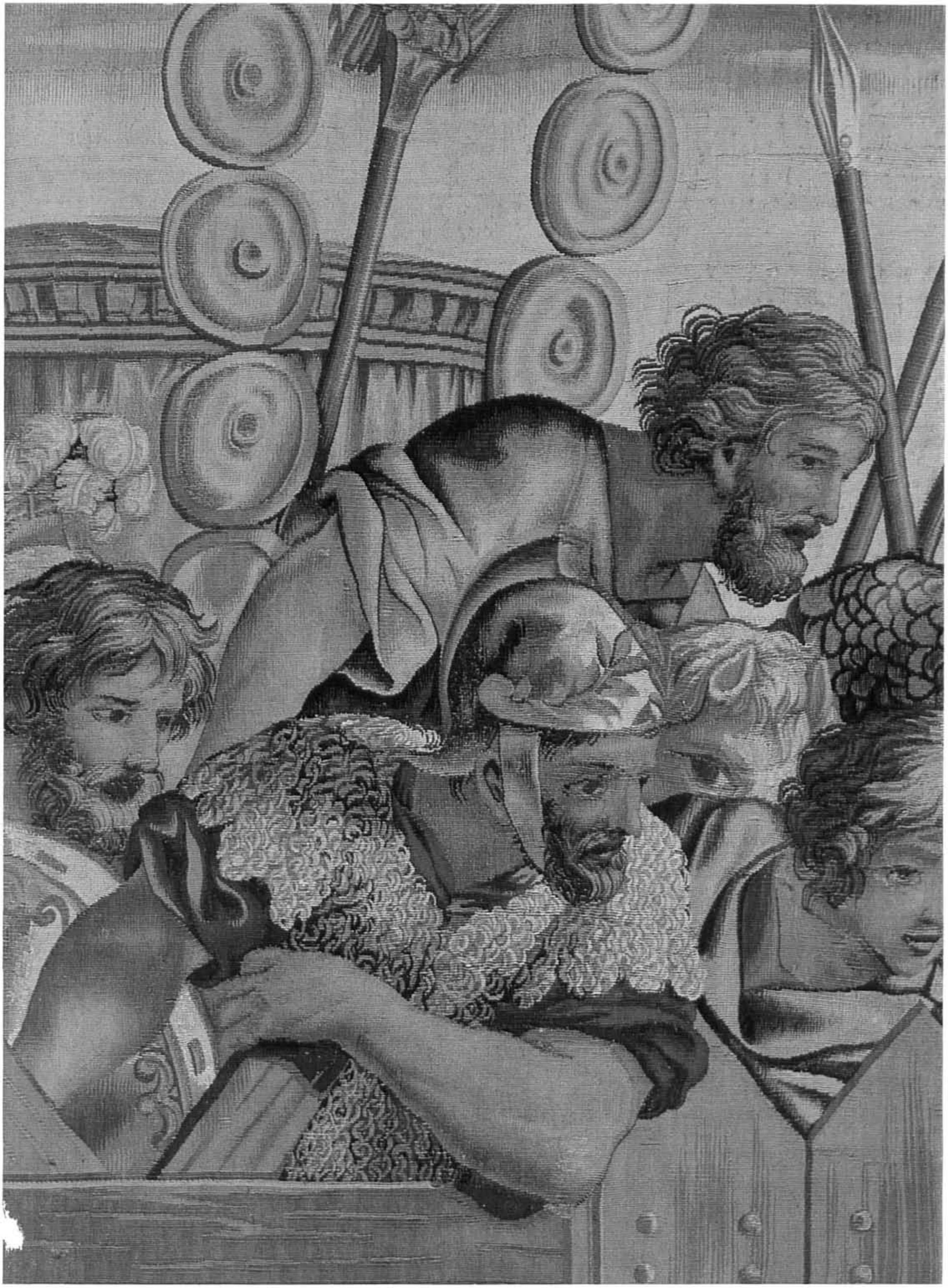
26. THE BUILDING OF CONSTANTINOPLE (Cat.no.6)



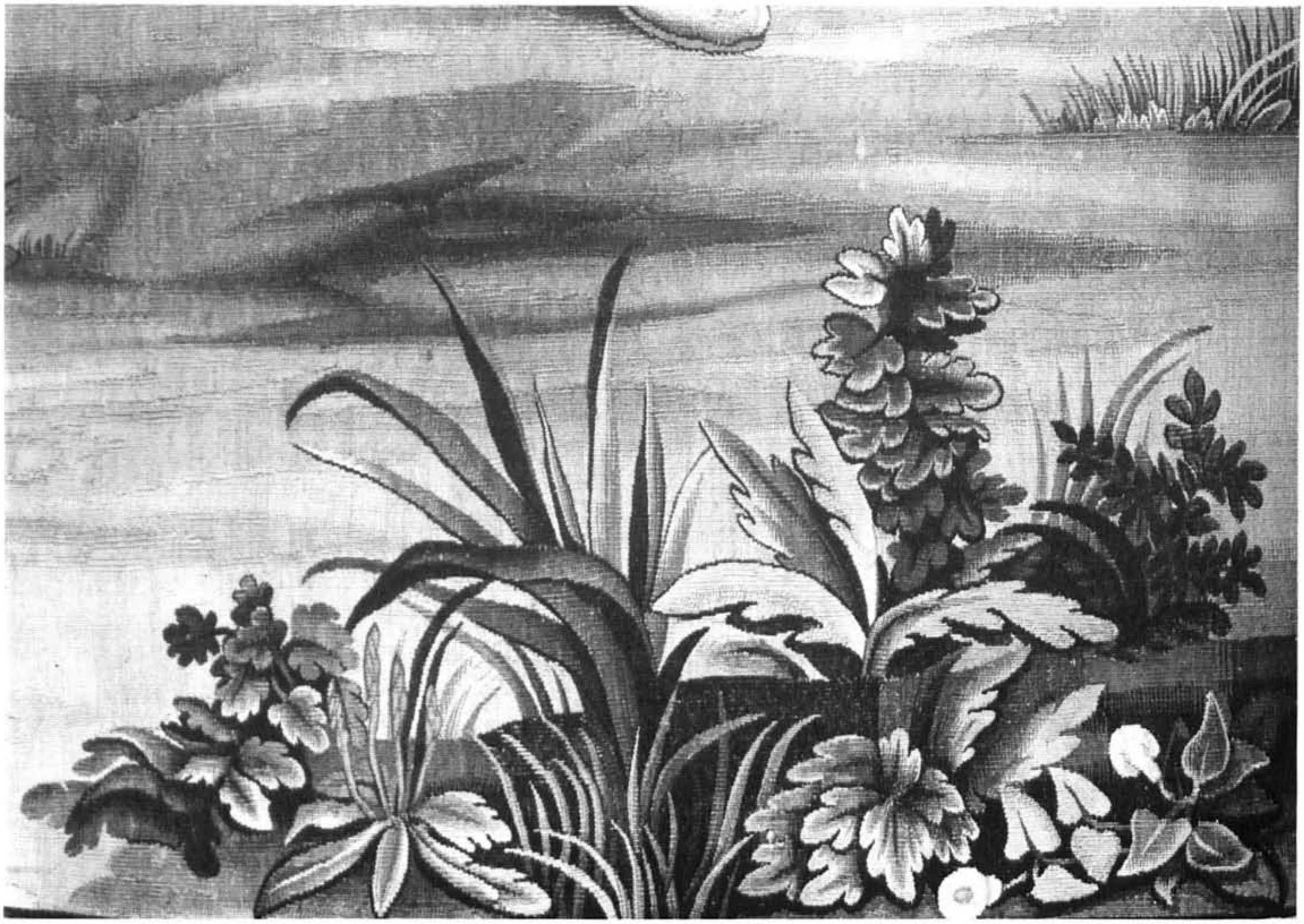
27. THE DEATH OF CONSTANTINE (Cat.no.7)



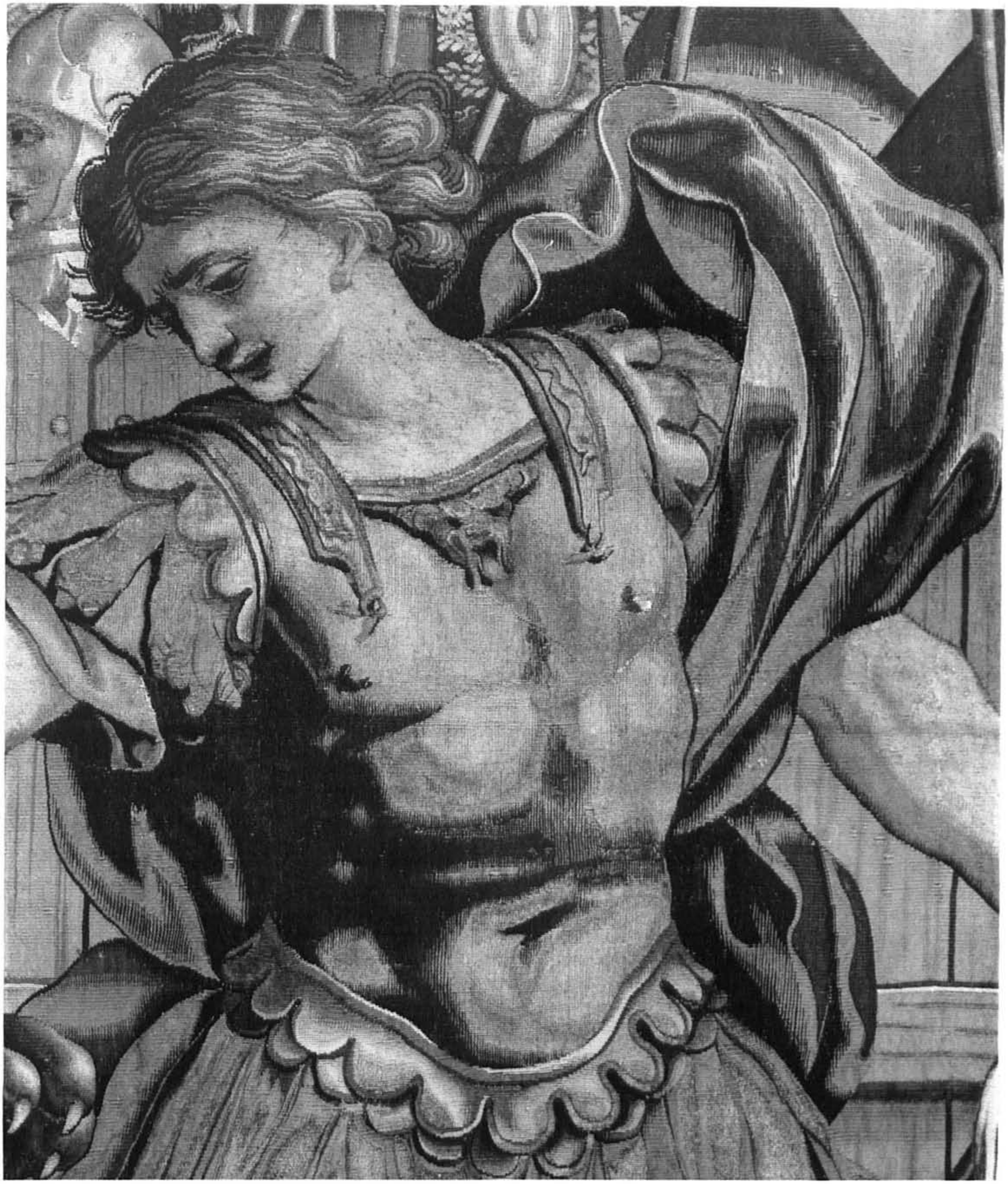
28. CONSTANTINE FIGHTING THE LION (Cat.no.8)



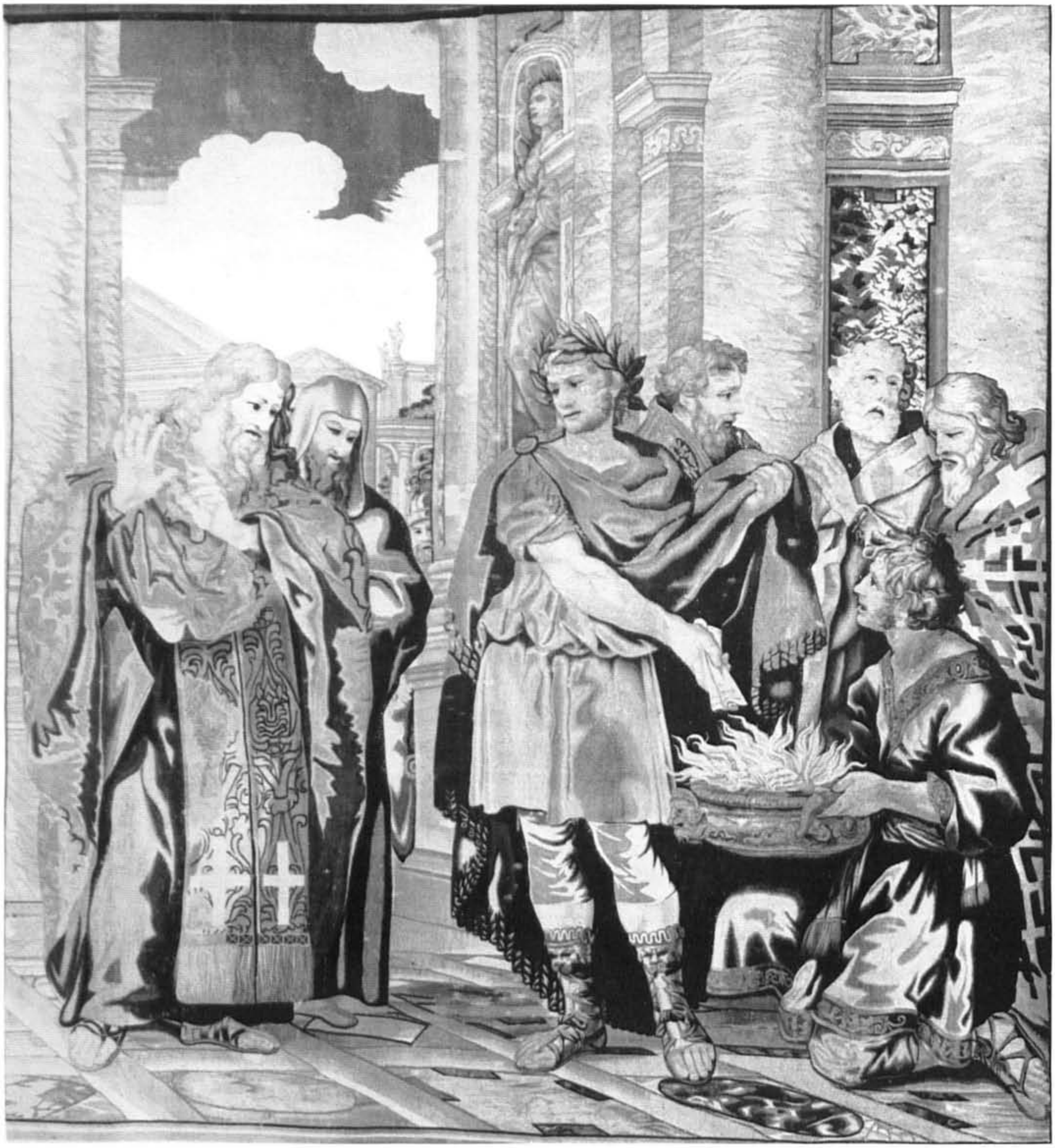
29. GROUP OF SPECTATORS. Detail from Plate 28



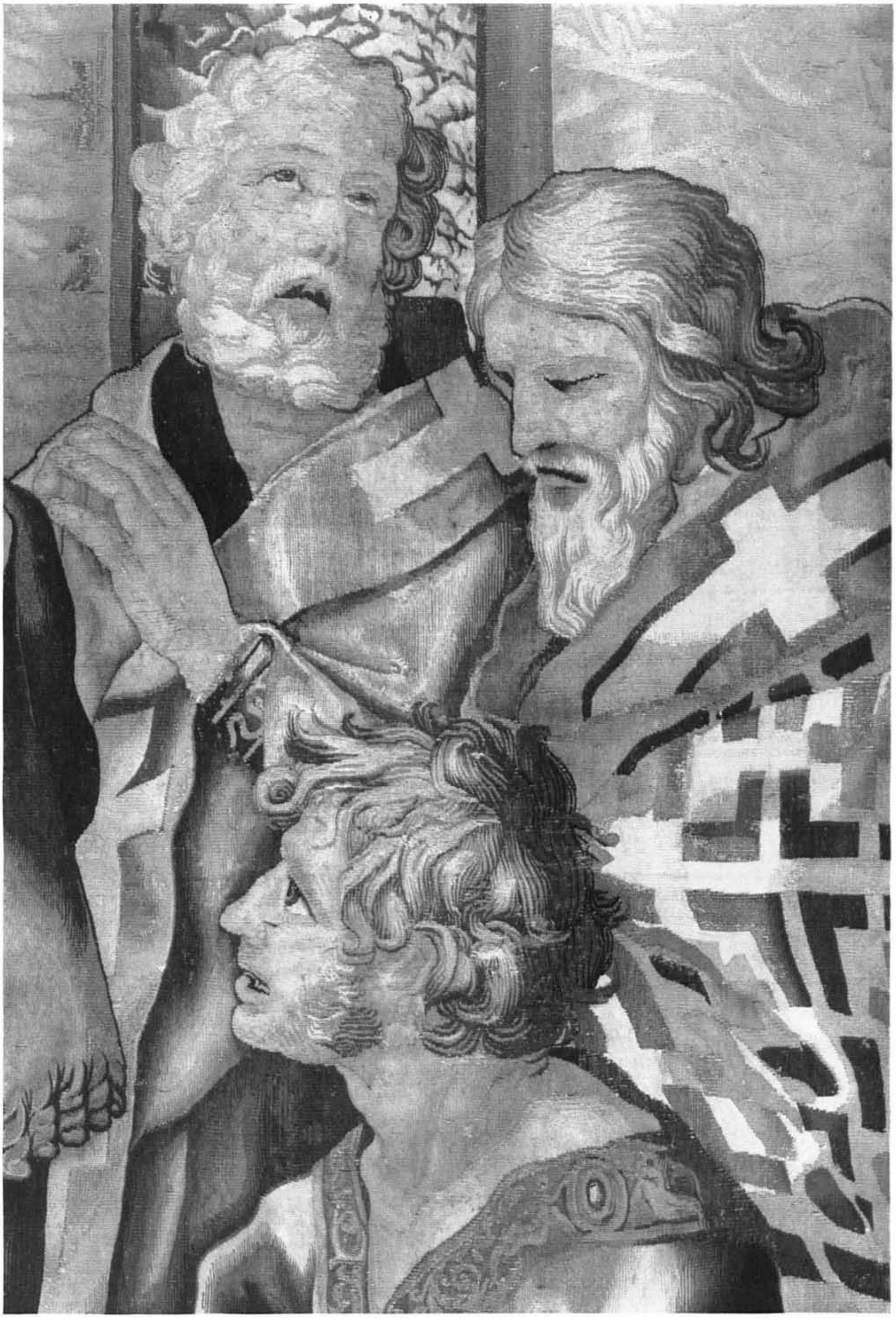
30. PLANTS. Detail from Plate 28



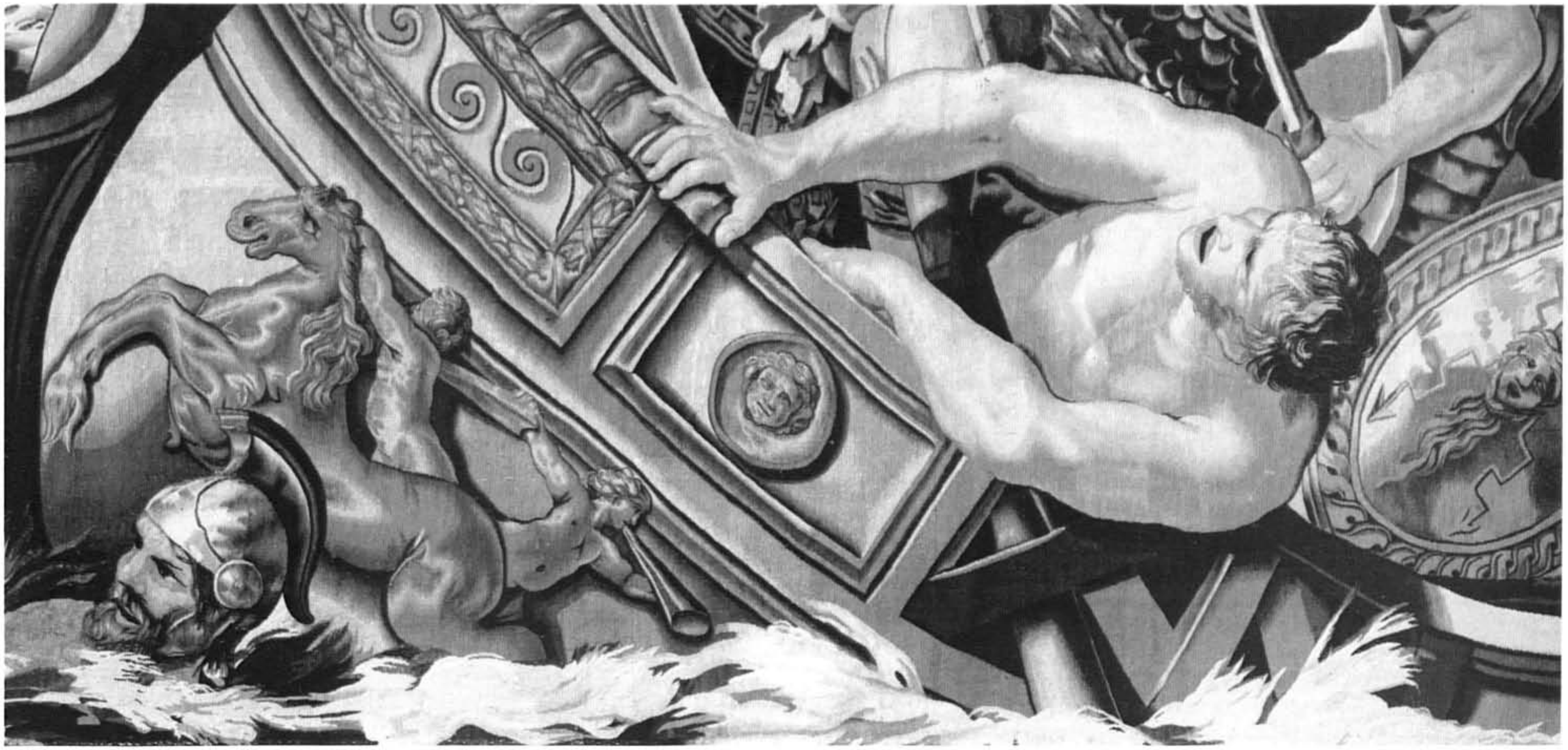
31. CONSTANTINE. Detail from Plate 28



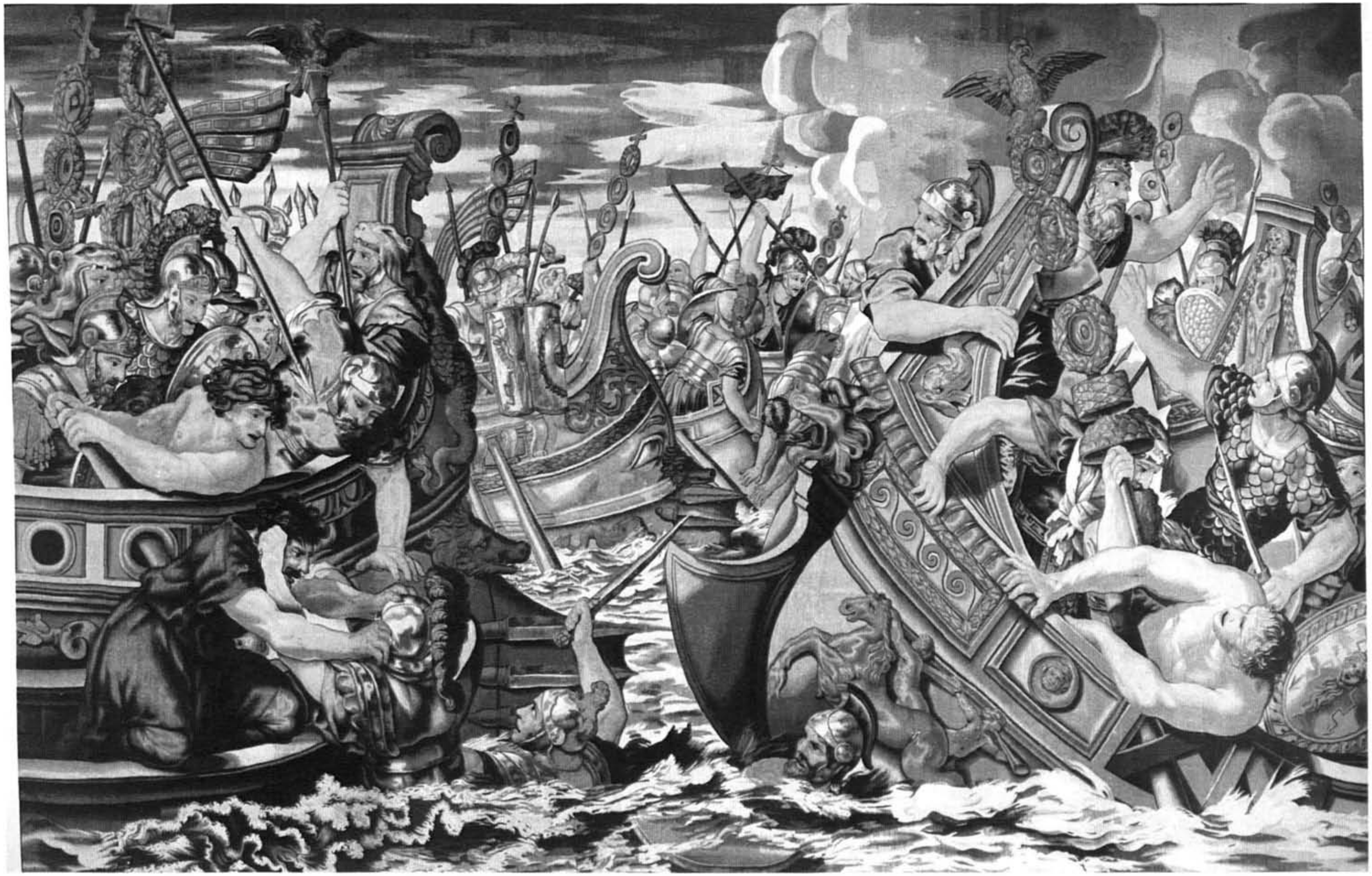
32. CONSTANTINE BURNING THE MEMORIALS (Cat.no.10)



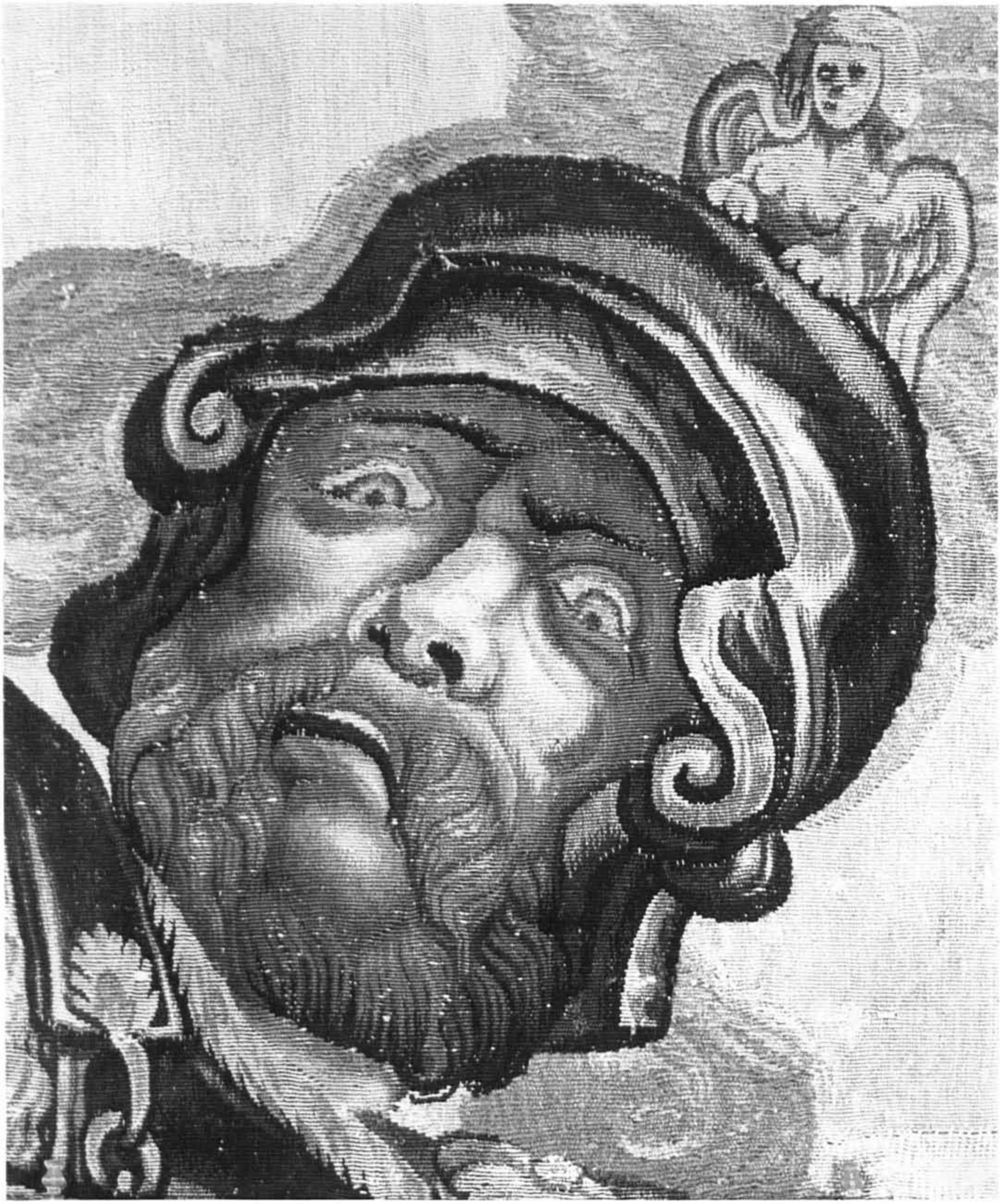
33. THREE SPECTATORS. Detail from Plate 32



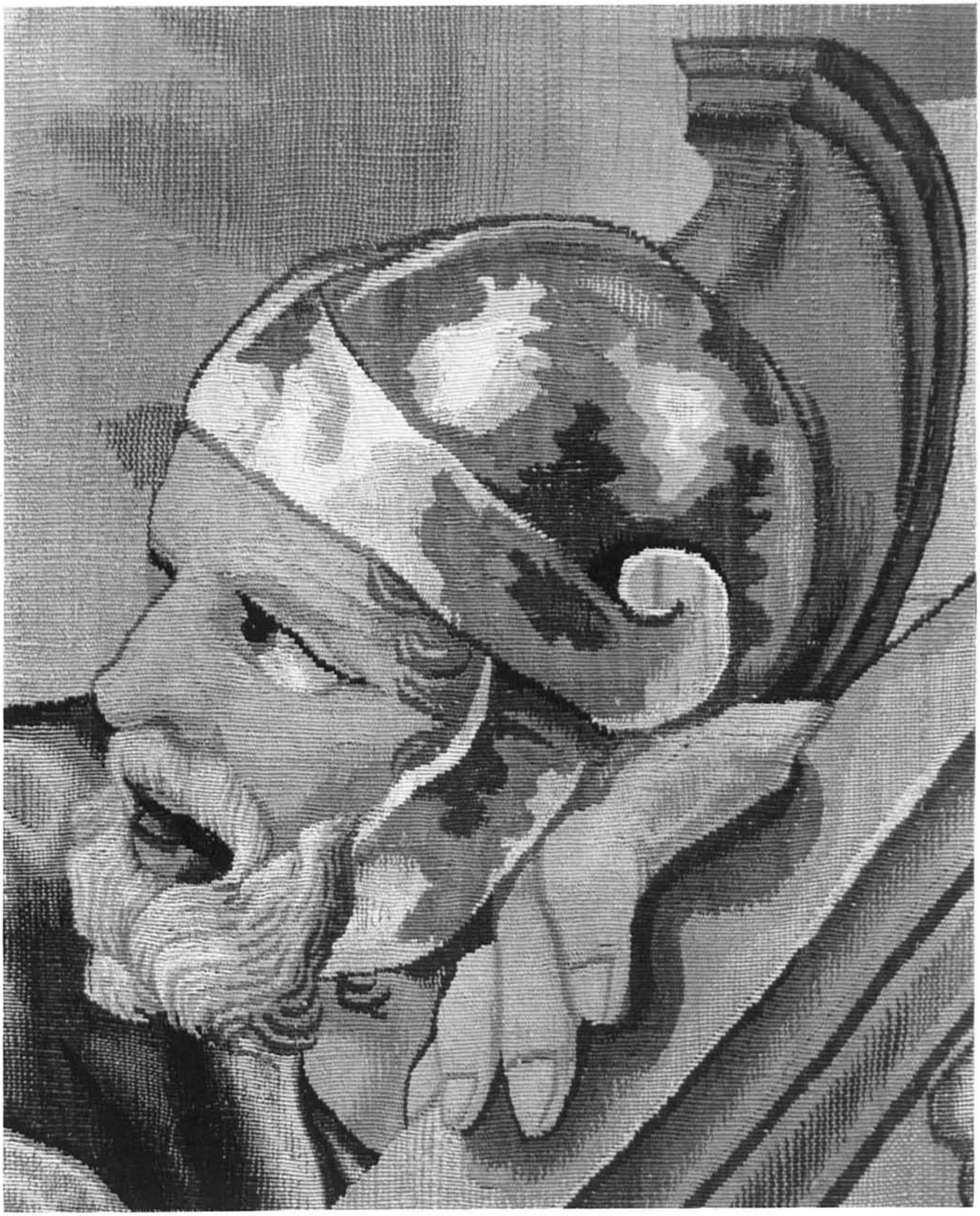
34. OARSMAN, ORNATE CARVING AND WAVES. Detail from Plate 35



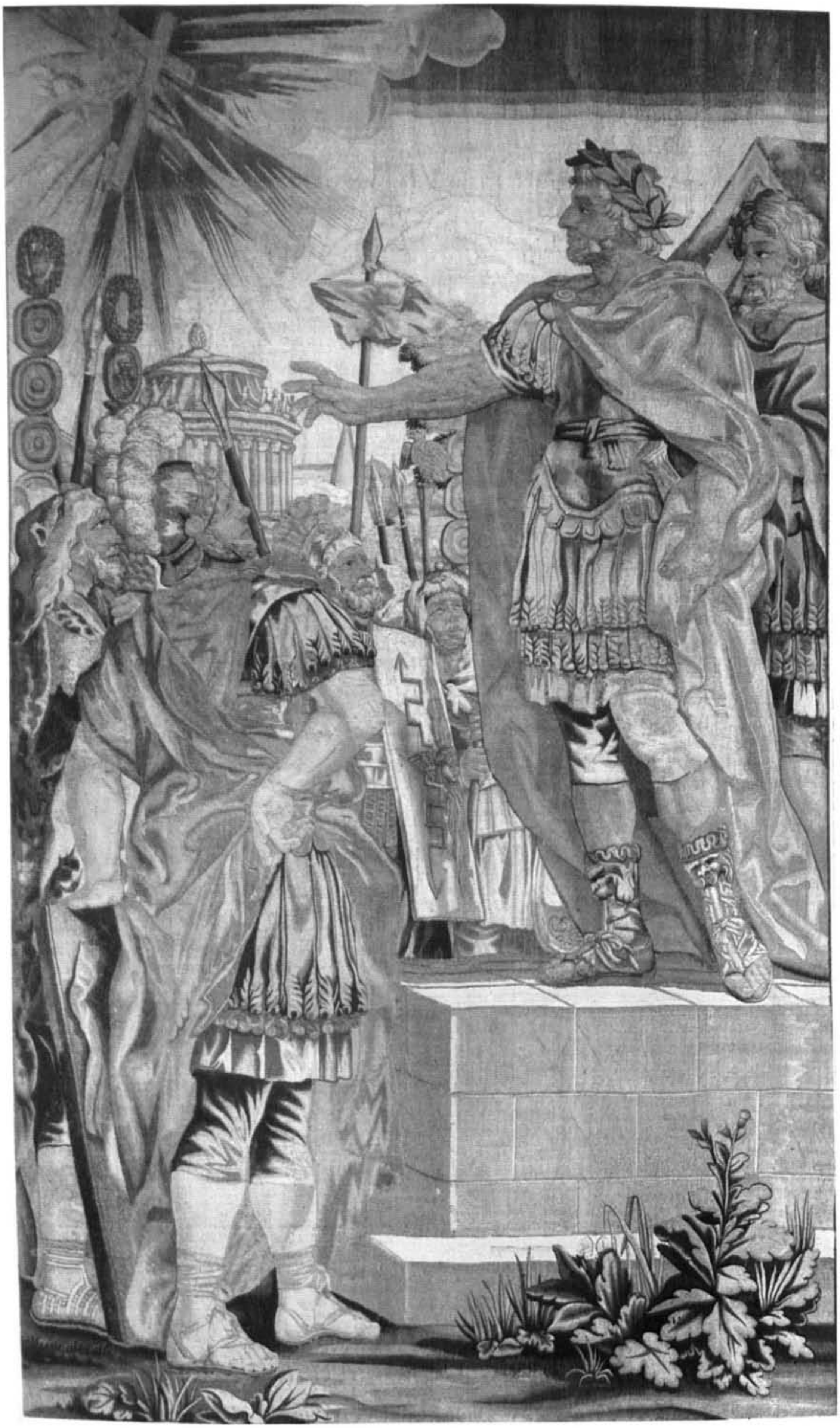
35. THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST LICINIUS, SEA BATTLE (Cat.no.11)



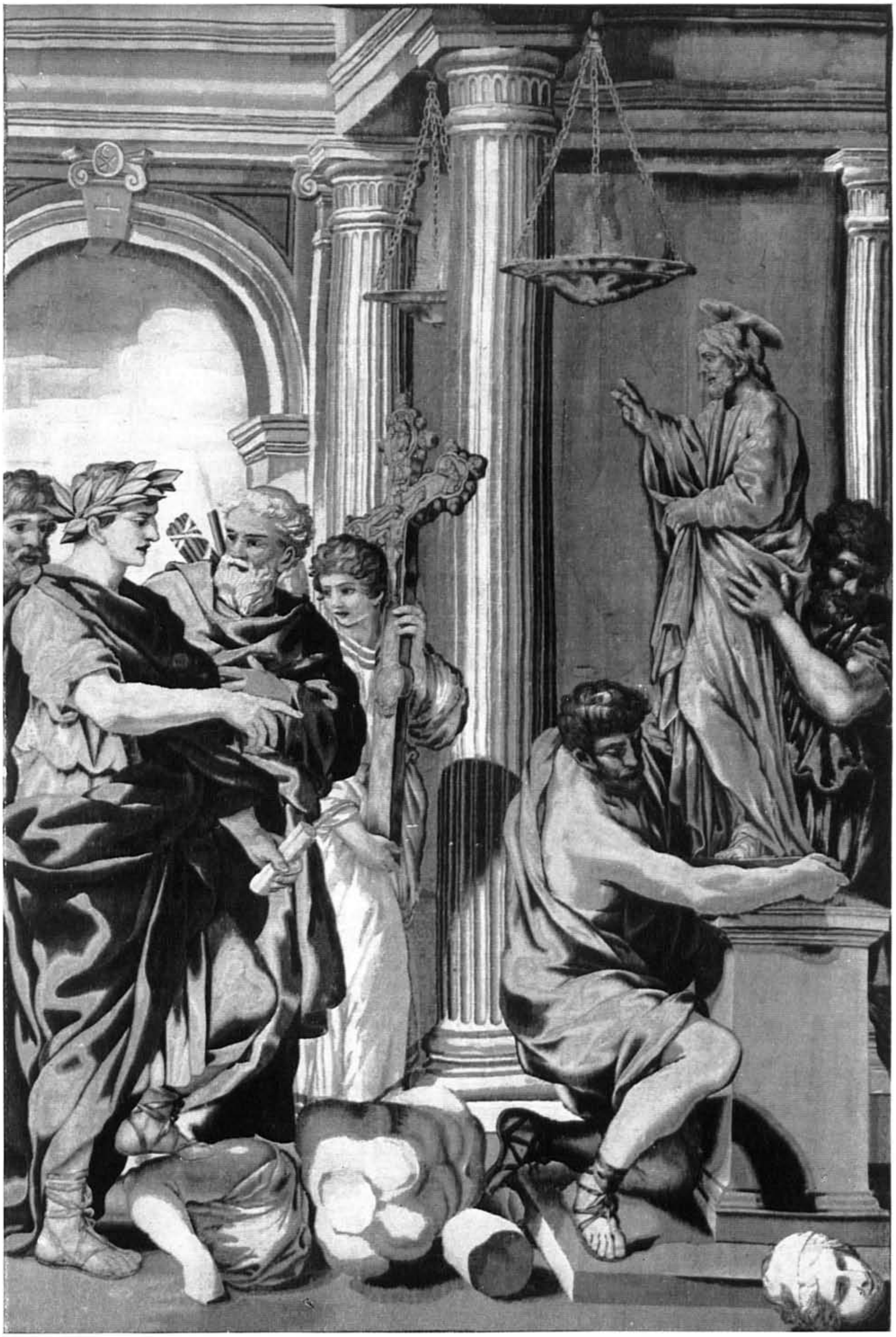
36. HEAD OF A MOUNTED SOLDIER. Detail from Plate 10



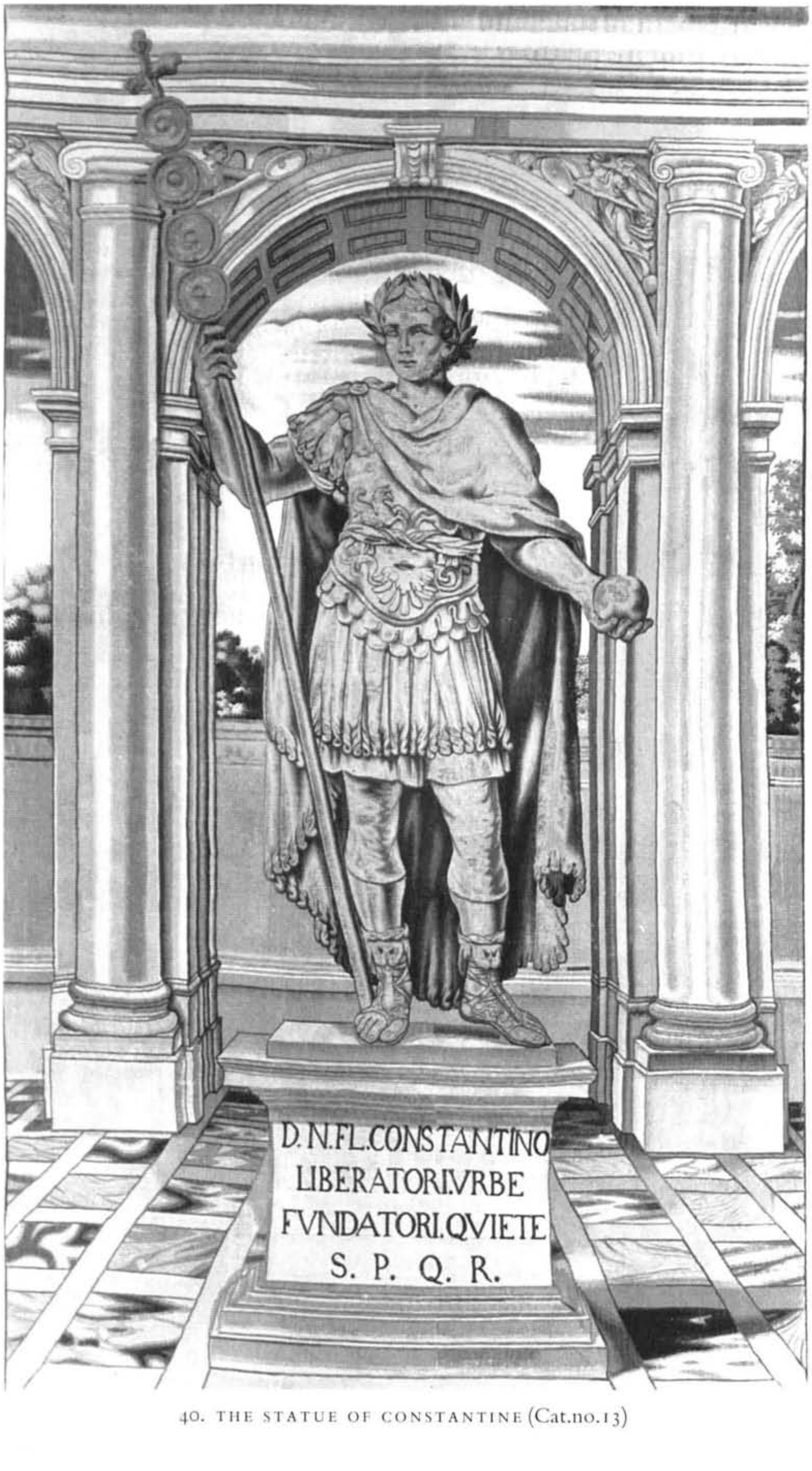
37. HEAD OF A SOLDIER. Detail from Plate 35



38. THE APPARITION OF THE CROSS (Cat.no.9)

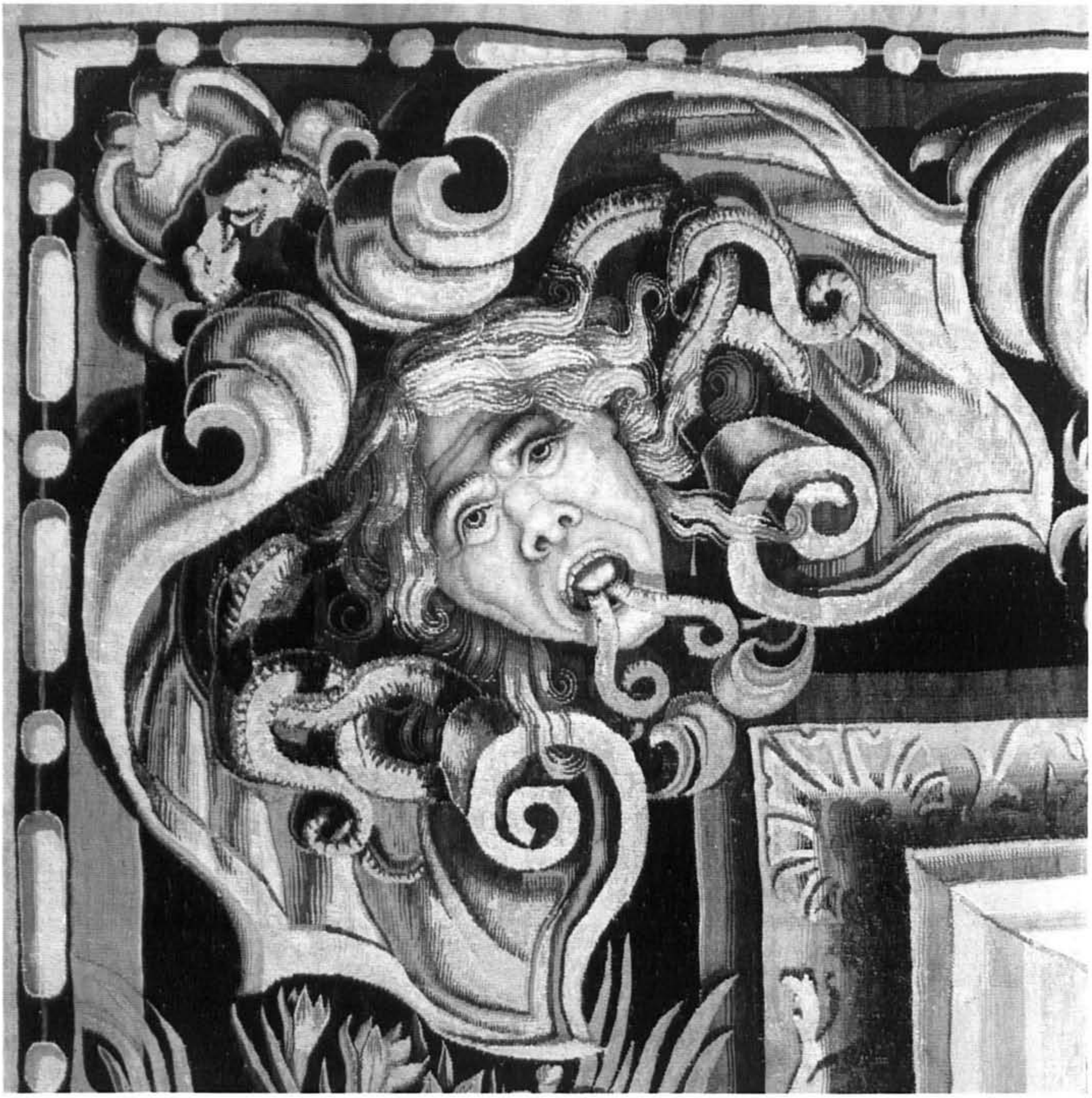


39. CONSTANTINE DESTROYING THE IDOLS (Cat.no.12)

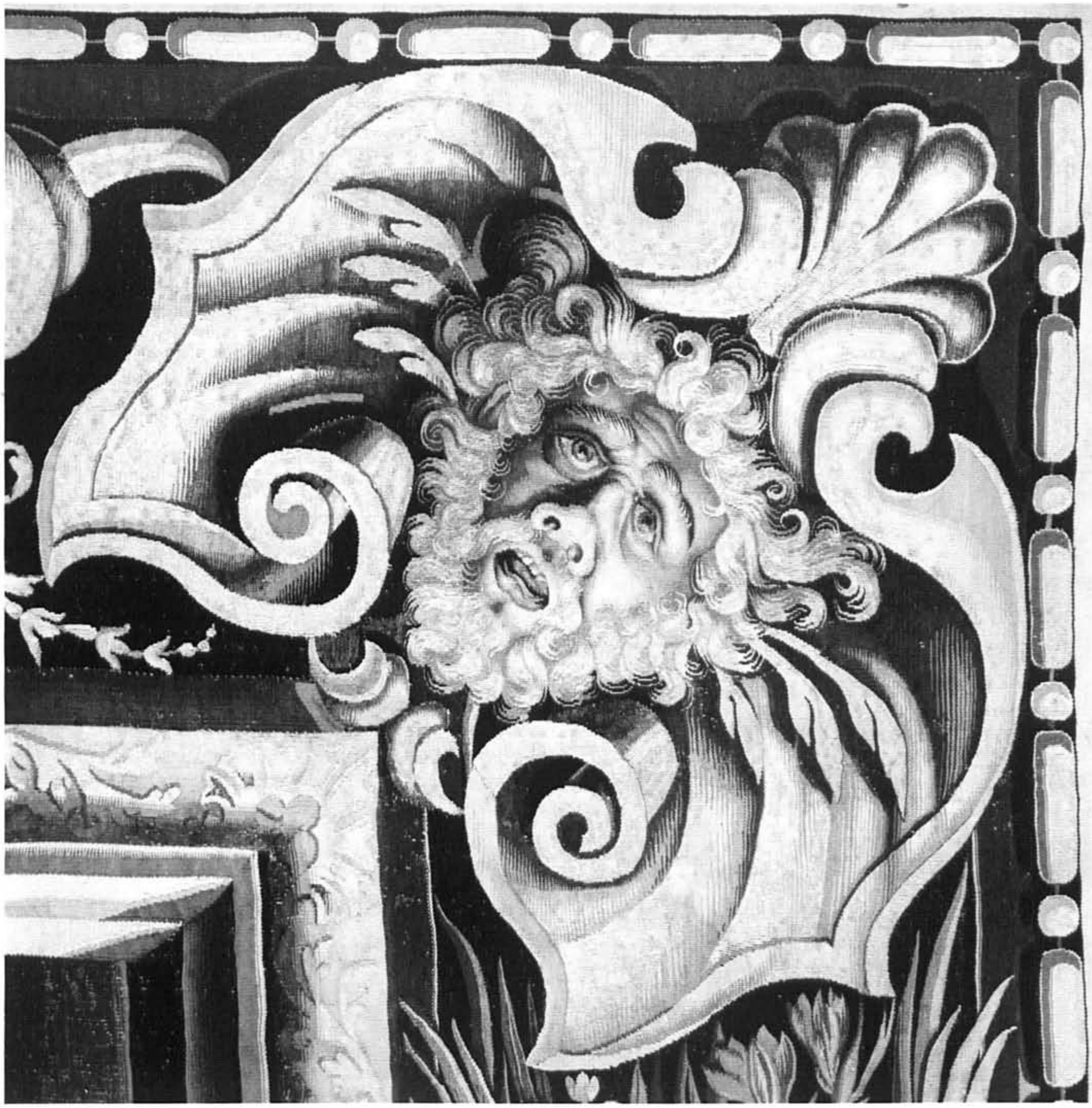

D. N. FL. CONSTANTINO
LIBERATORI. VRBE
FVNDATORI. QVIETE
S. P. Q. R.

40. THE STATUE OF CONSTANTINE (Cat.no.13)

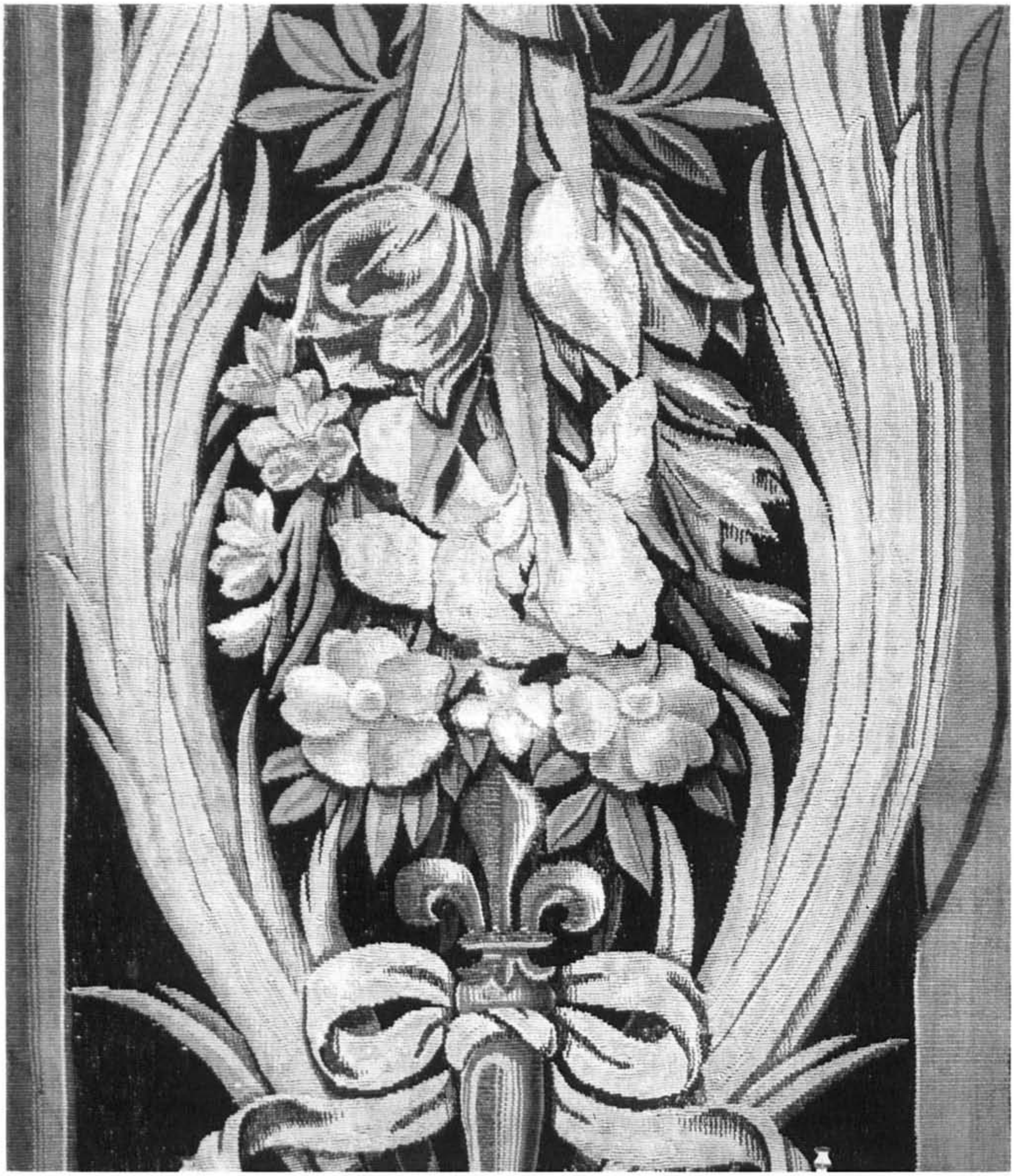
DETAILS FROM THE TAPESTRY BORDERS



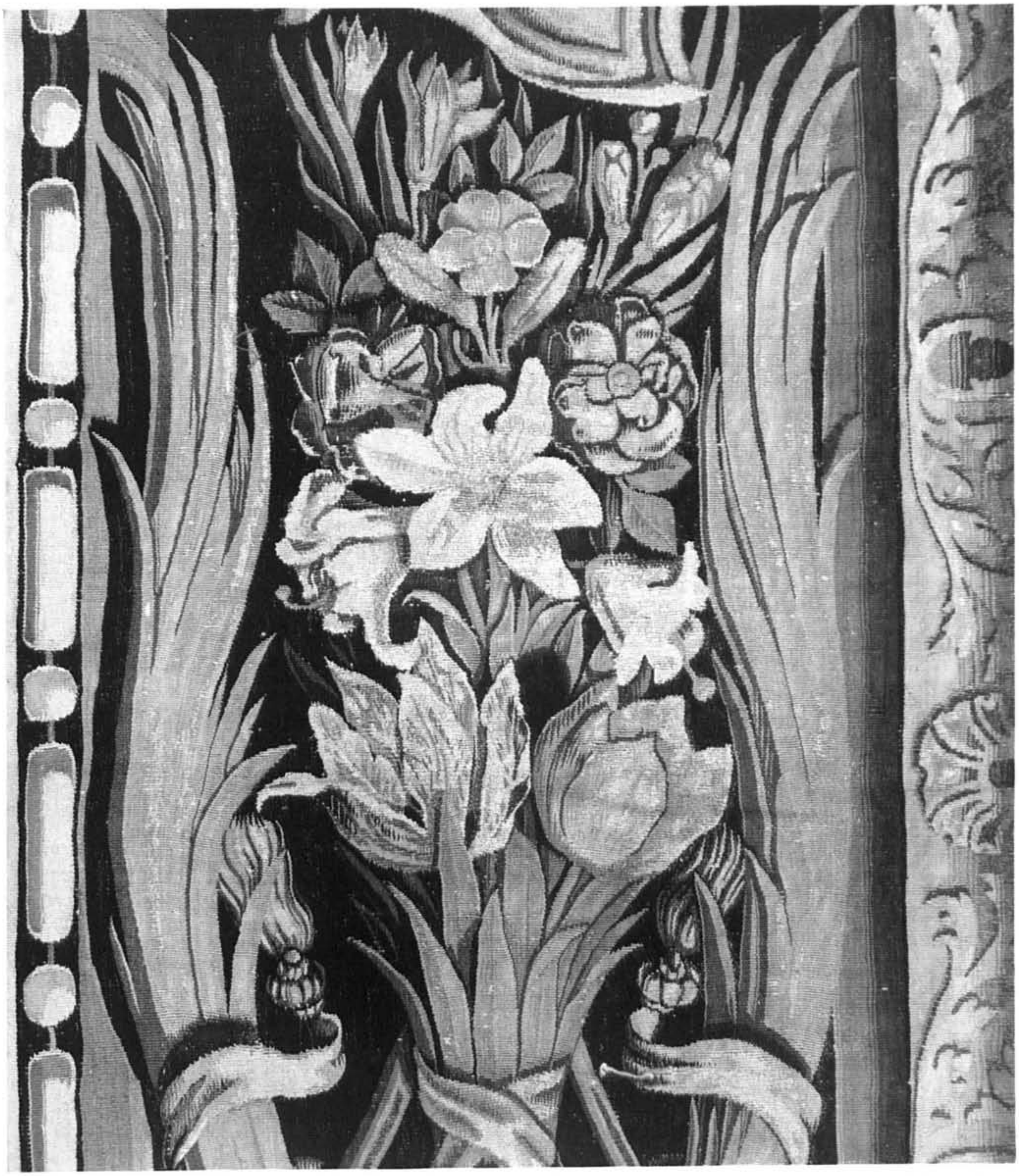
41. MASK ENCLOSED IN A CARTOUCHE. Border detail from *The Marriage of Constantine* (cf. Fig. 11)



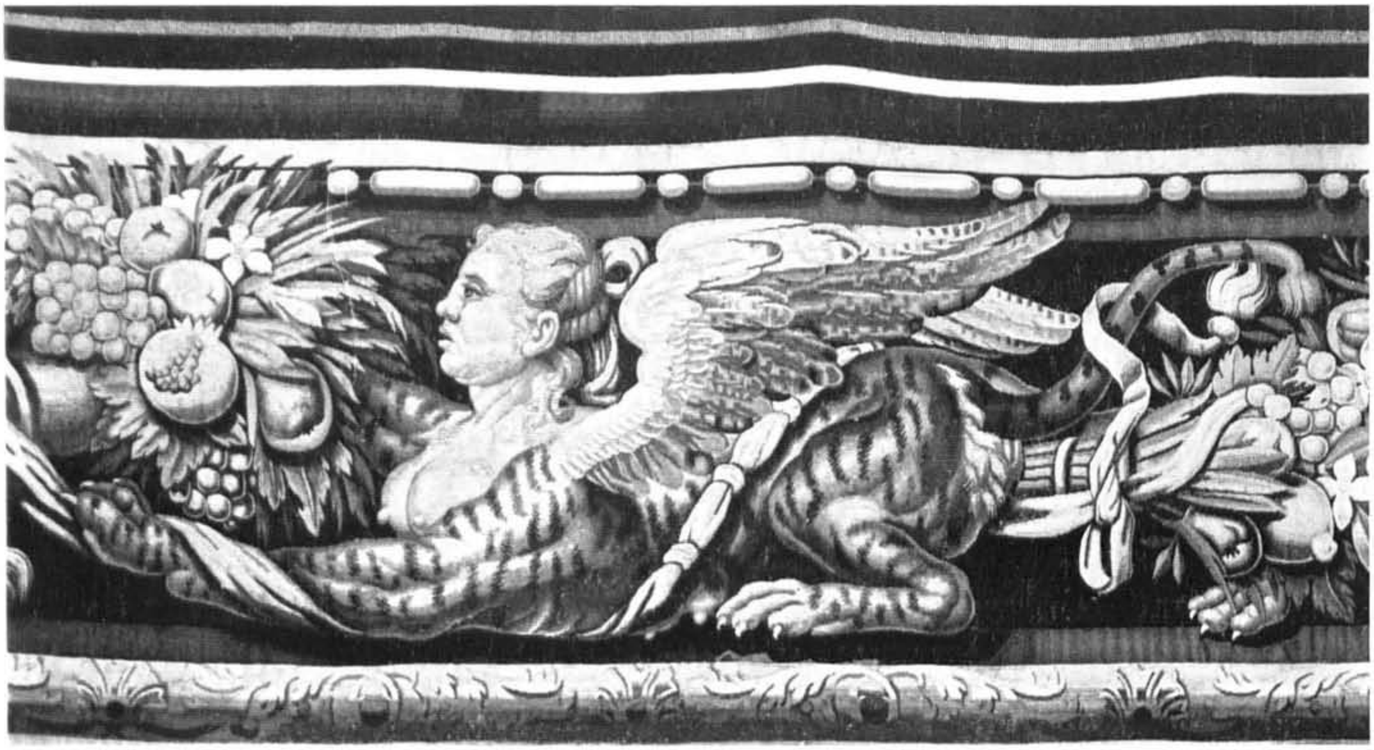
42. MASK ENCLOSED IN A CARTOUCHE, Border detail from *The Marriage of Constantine* (cf. Fig. 11)



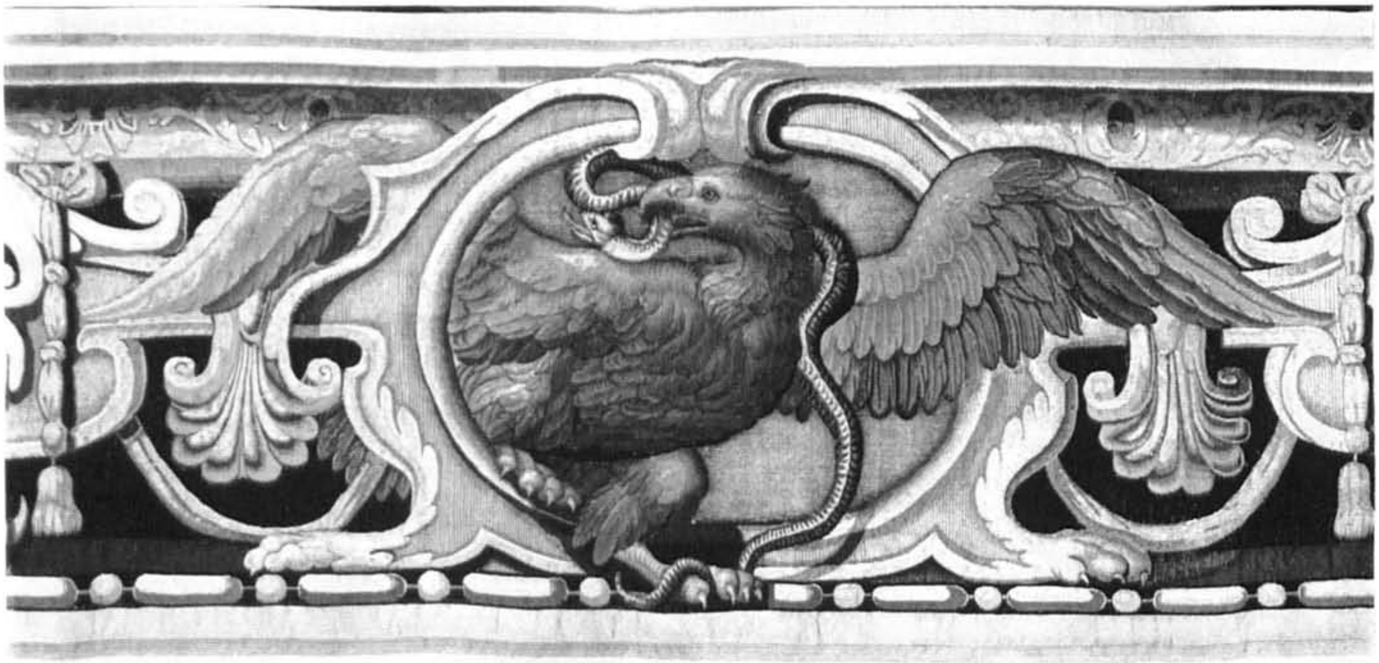
43. CLUSTER OF FLOWERS WITH PALM LEAVES. Border detail from *The Marriage of Constantine* (cf. Fig. 11)



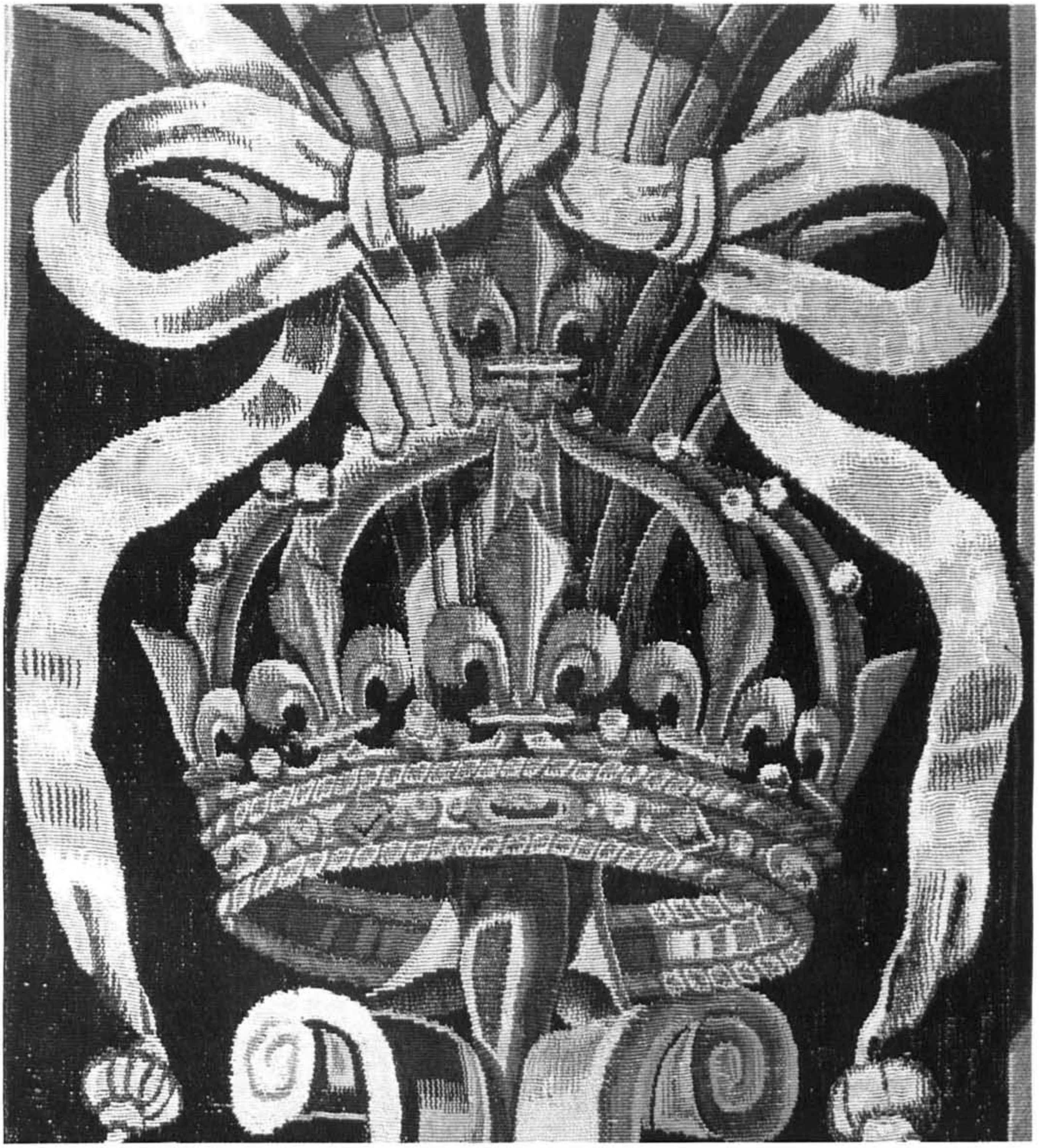
44. CLUSTER OF FLOWERS WITH PALM LEAVES. Border detail from *The Marriage of Constantine* (cf. Fig. 11)



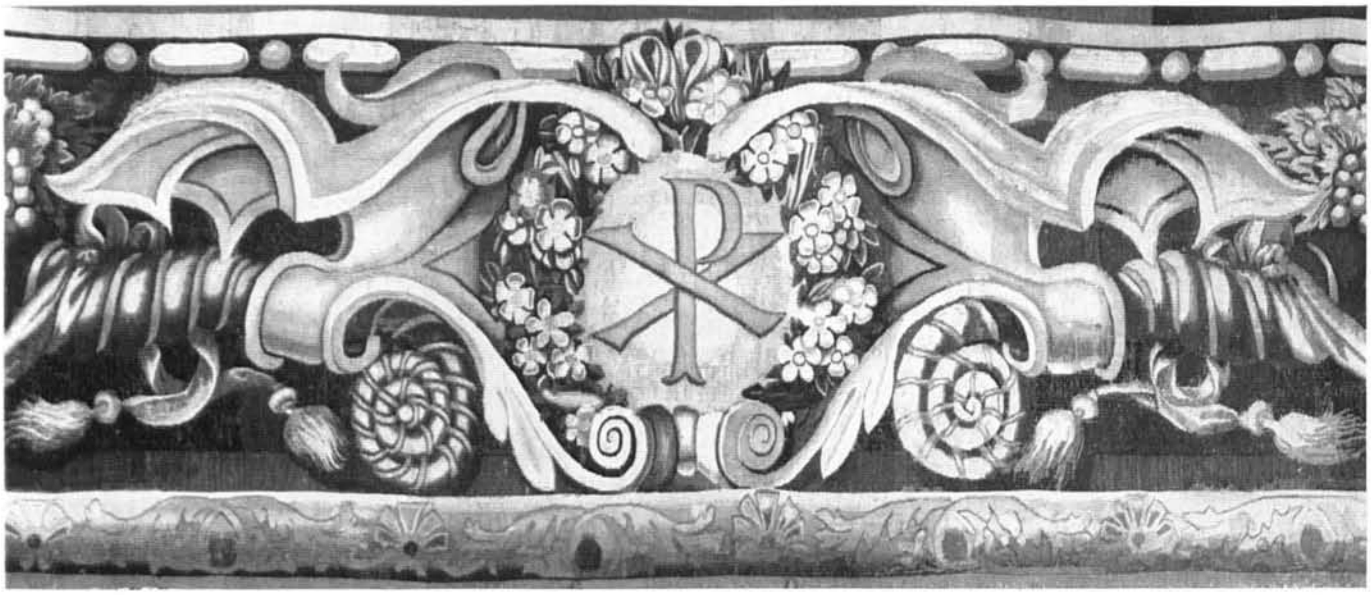
45. SPHINX. Border detail from *The Marriage of Constantine* (cf. Fig. 11)



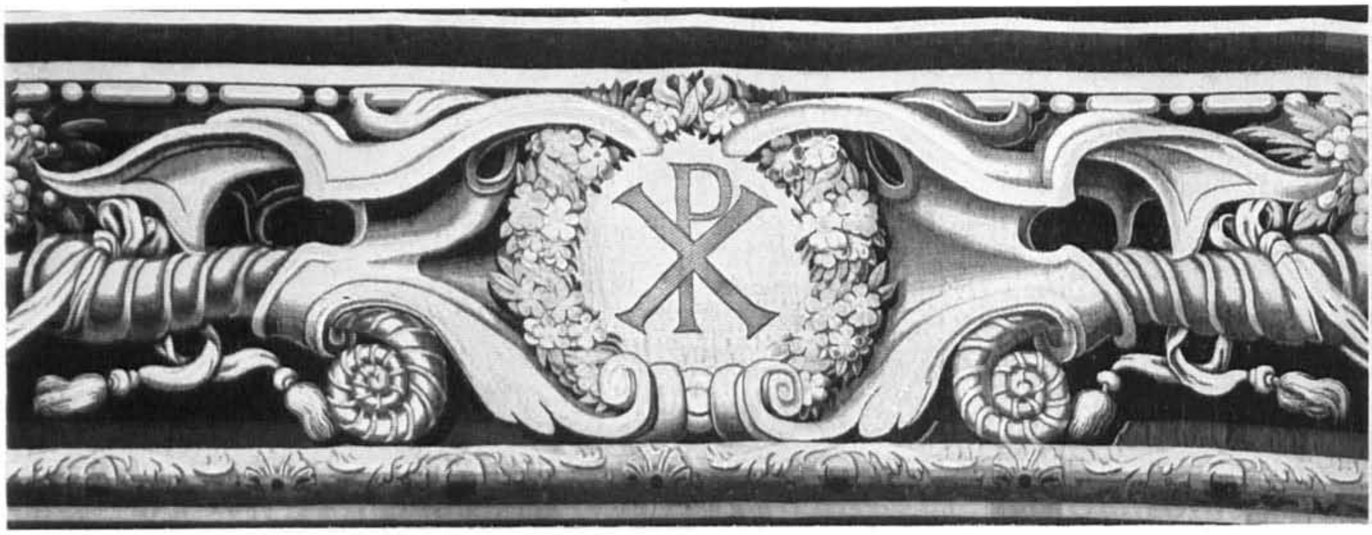
46. EAGLE AND SNAKE ENCLOSED IN A CARTOUCHE. Border detail from *The Marriage of Constantine* (cf. Fig. 11)



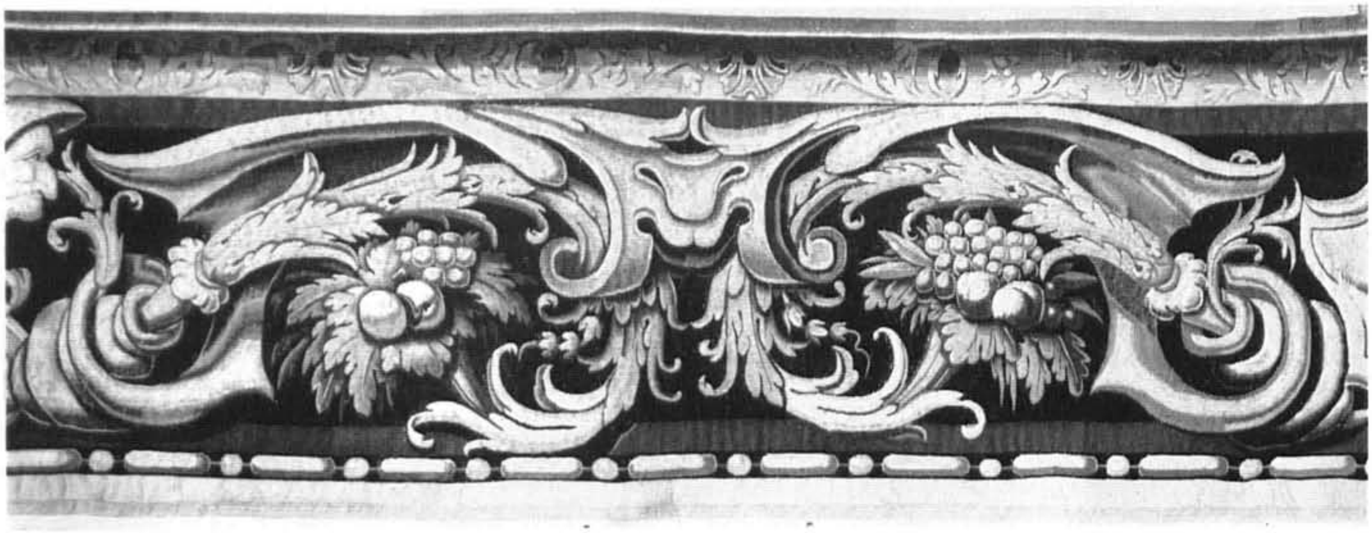
47. CROWN AND RIBBONS. Border detail from *The Marriage of Constantine* (cf. Fig. 11)



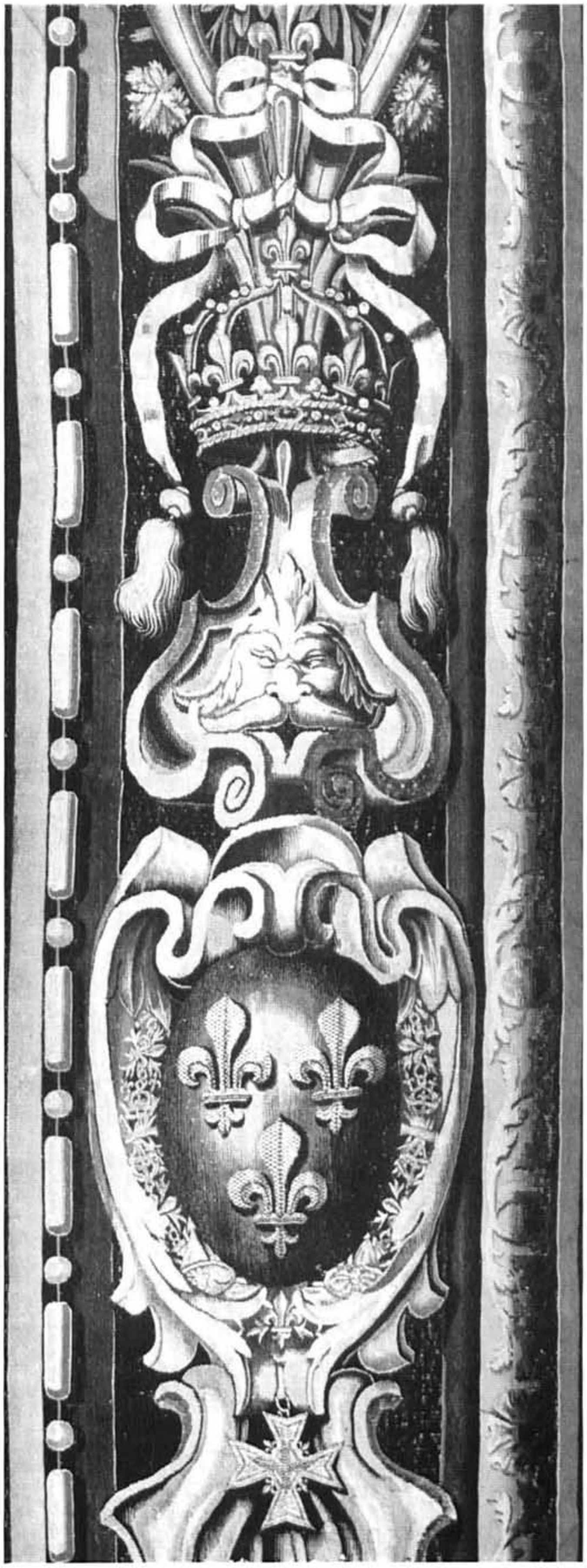
48. MONOGRAM OF CHRIST SURROUNDED BY A FLORAL WREATH WITHIN A CARTOUCHE.
Border detail from *Constantine Destroying the Idols* (cf. Fig. 22)



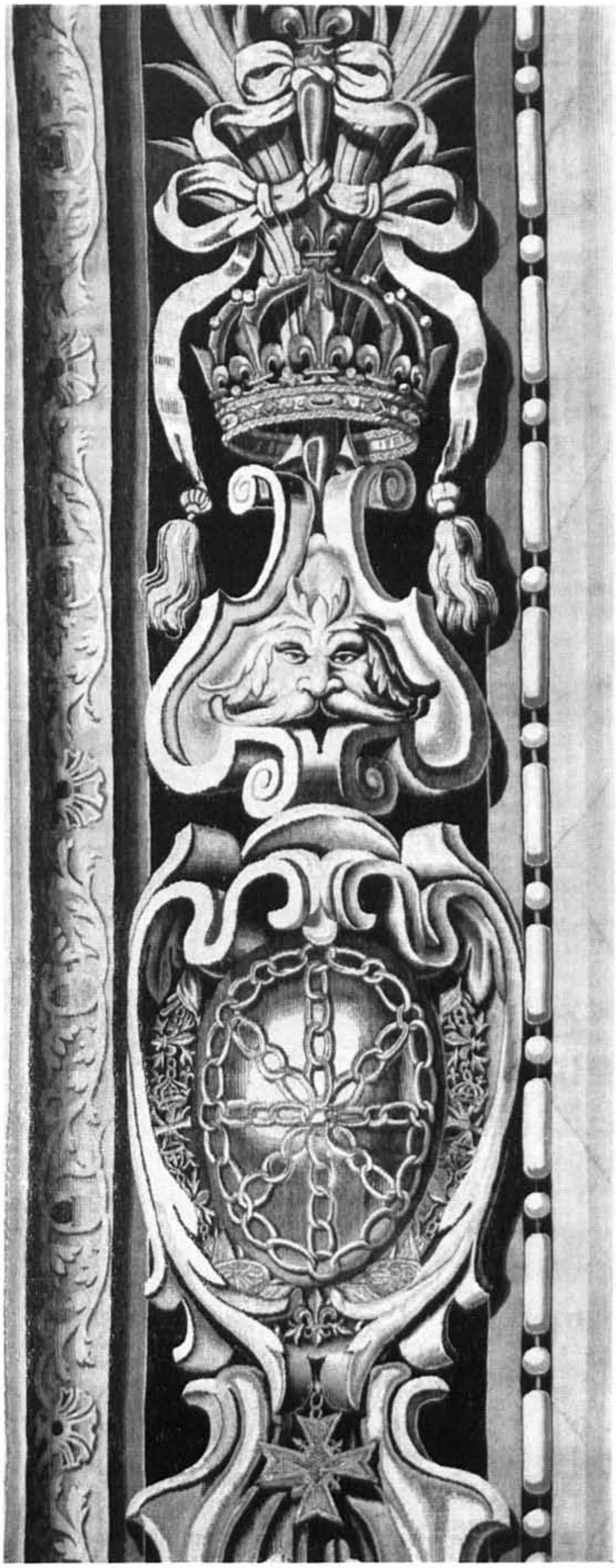
49. MONOGRAM OF CHRIST SURROUNDED BY A FLORAL WREATH WITHIN A CARTOUCHE.
Border detail from *The Marriage of Constantine* (cf. Fig. 11)



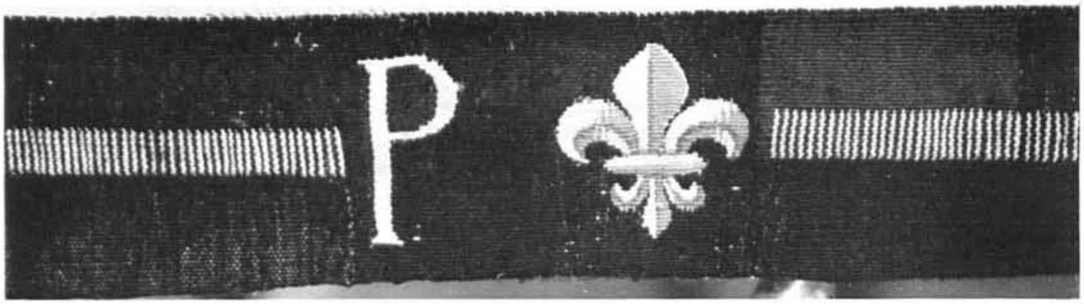
50. LEAF SCROLLS TERMINATING WITH CLUSTERS OF FRUIT AND FLOWERS WITHIN A CARTOUCHE.
Border detail from *The Marriage of Constantine* (cf. Fig. 11)



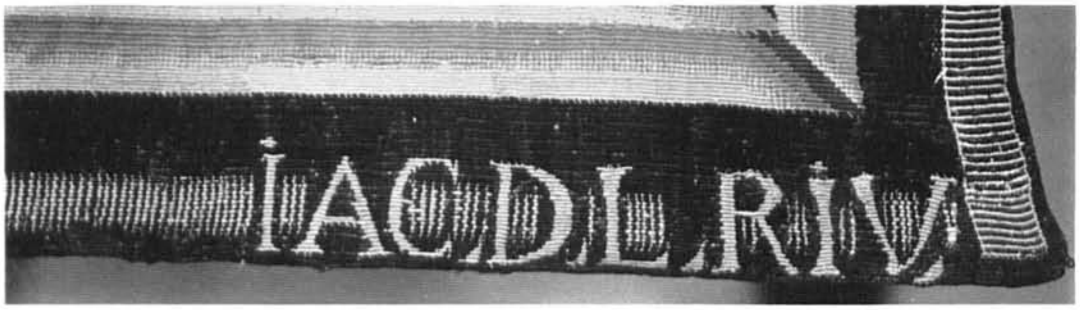
51. THE ARMS OF FRANCE SURROUNDED BY THE ORDER OF THE SAINT ESPRIT WITHIN A CARTOUCHE, SURMOUNTED BY A CROWN AND MASK. Border detail from *Saint Helena and the True Cross* (cf. Fig. 15)



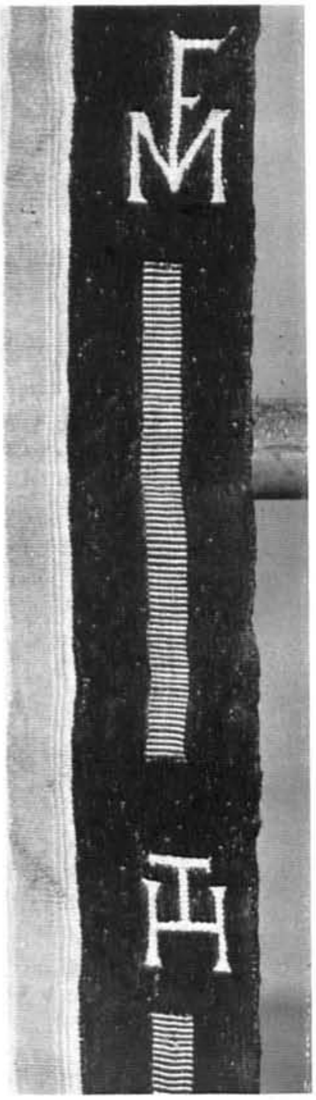
52. THE ARMS OF NAVARRE SURROUNDED BY THE ORDER OF THE SAINT ESPRIT WITHIN A CARTOUCHE, SURMOUNTED BY A CROWN AND MASK. Border detail from *The Marriage of Constantine* (cf. Fig. 11)

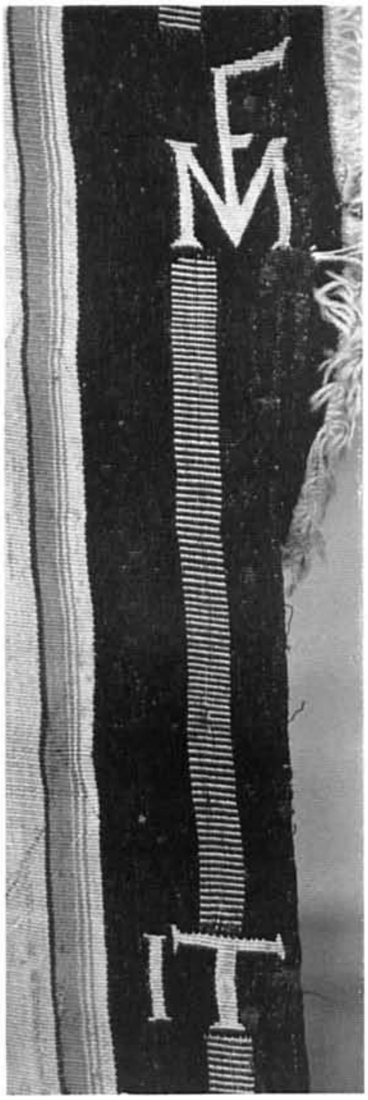


53. WEAVER’S MARK. Selvedge detail from *The Marriage of Constantine* (cf. Fig. 11)



54. WEAVER’S MARK. Selvedge detail from *The Campaign against Licinius, Sea Battle* (cf. Fig. 21)

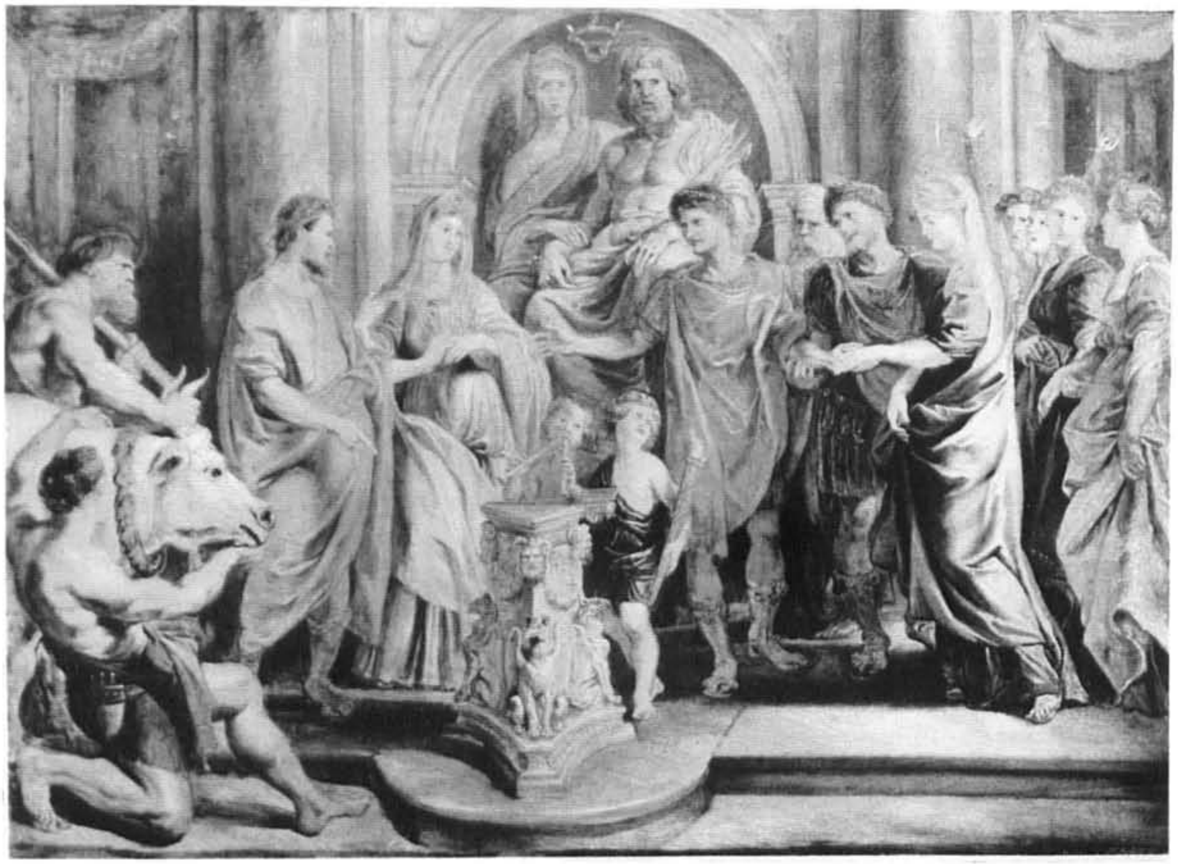




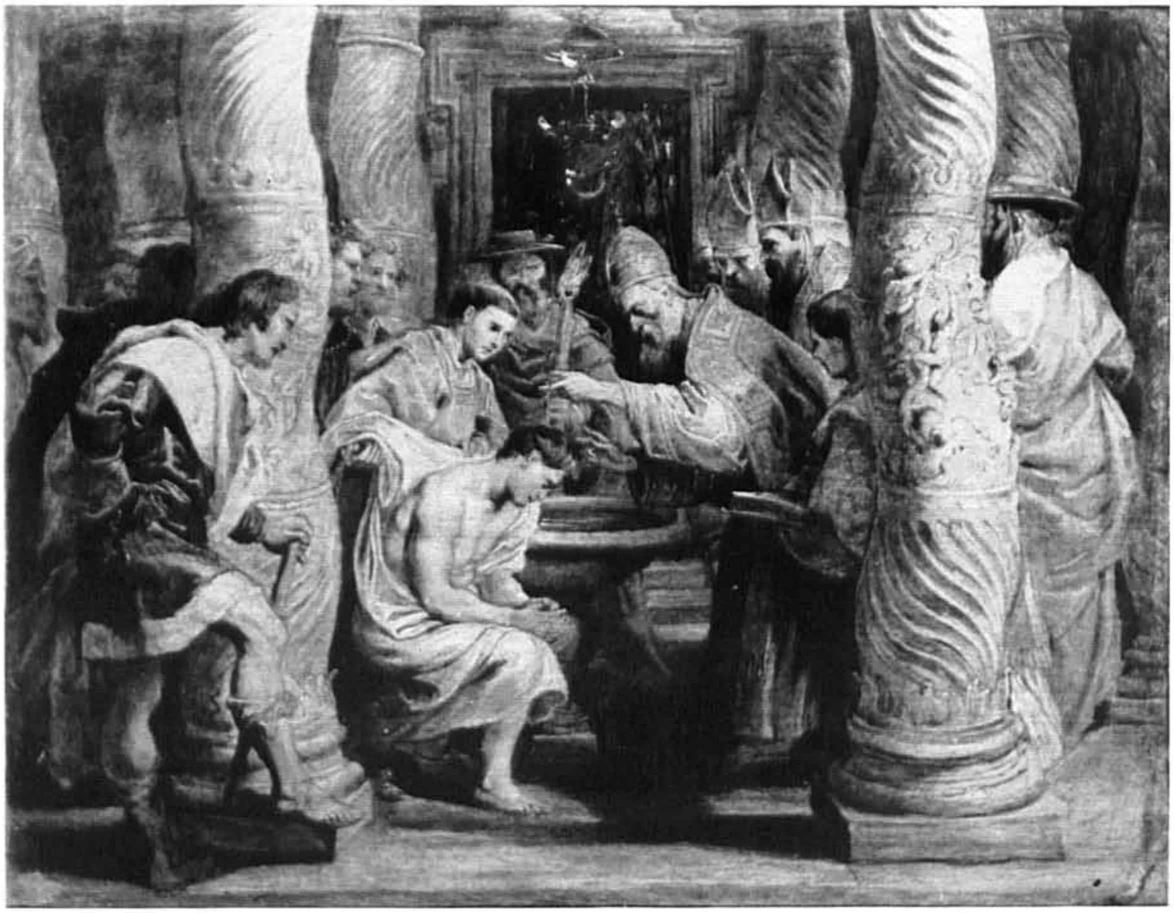
55. WEAVER’S MARK. Selvedge detail from *The Death of Constantine* (cf. Fig. 17)

56. WEAVER’S MARK. Selvedge detail from *The Building of Constantinople* (cf. Fig. 16)

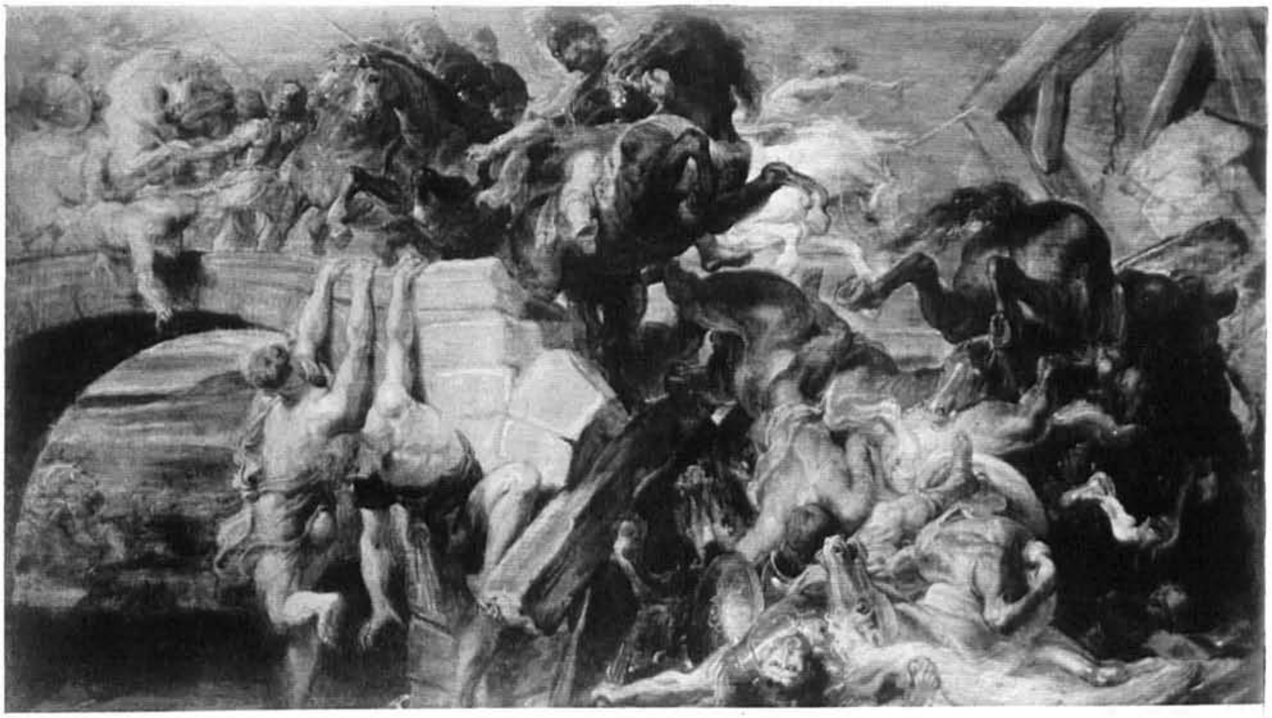
THE SURVIVING SKETCHES
BY RUBENS AND BY PIETRO DA CORTONA



57. Rubens: Oil sketch for THE MARRIAGE OF CONSTANTINE (cf. Plate 2). M. W. Leatham, Finchampstead.



58. Rubens: Oil sketch for THE BAPTISM OF CONSTANTINE (cf. Plate 9). Vicomtesse de Noailles, Paris



59. Rubens: Oil sketch for THE BATTLE OF THE MILVIAN BRIDGE (cf. Plate 10). Wallace Collection, London

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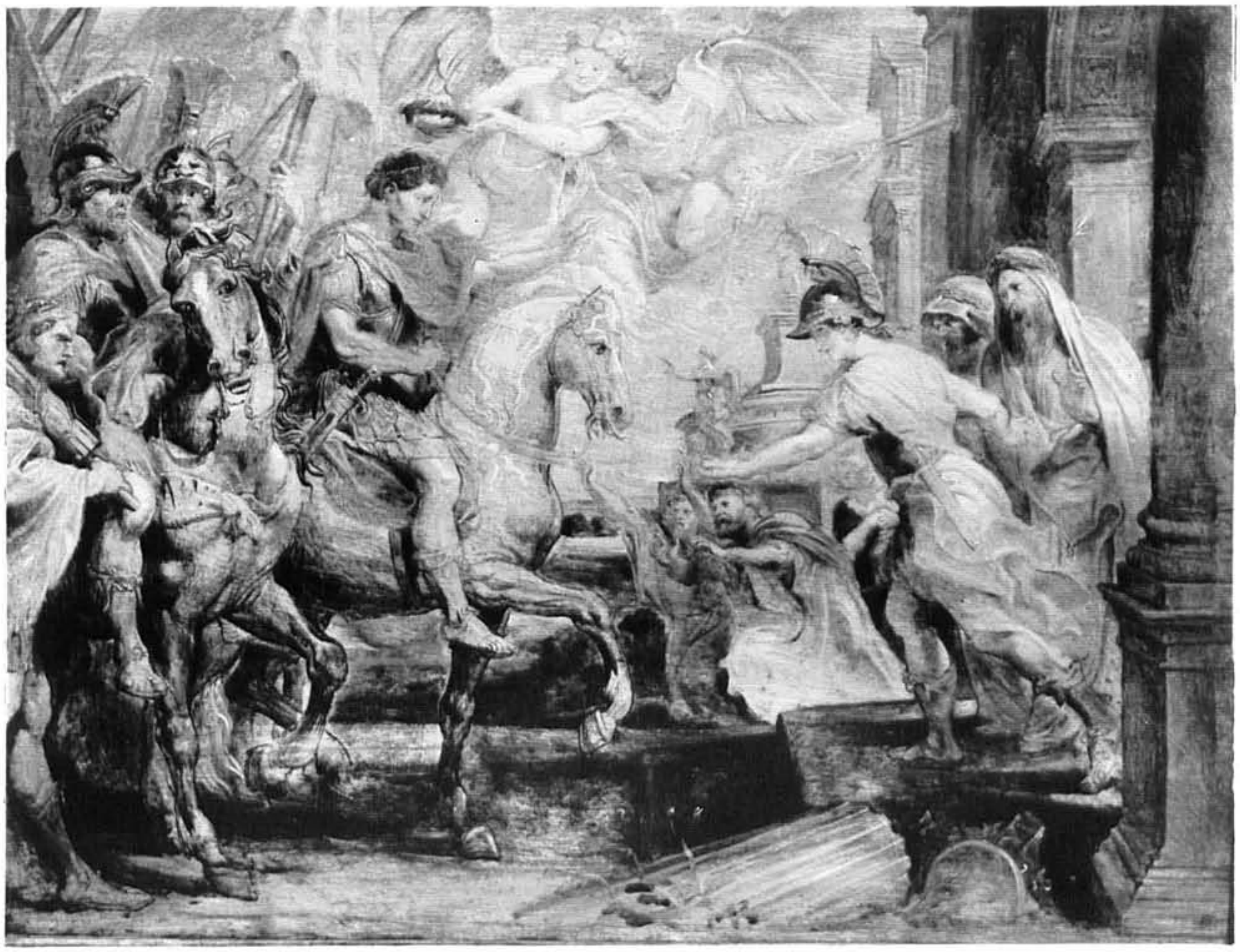
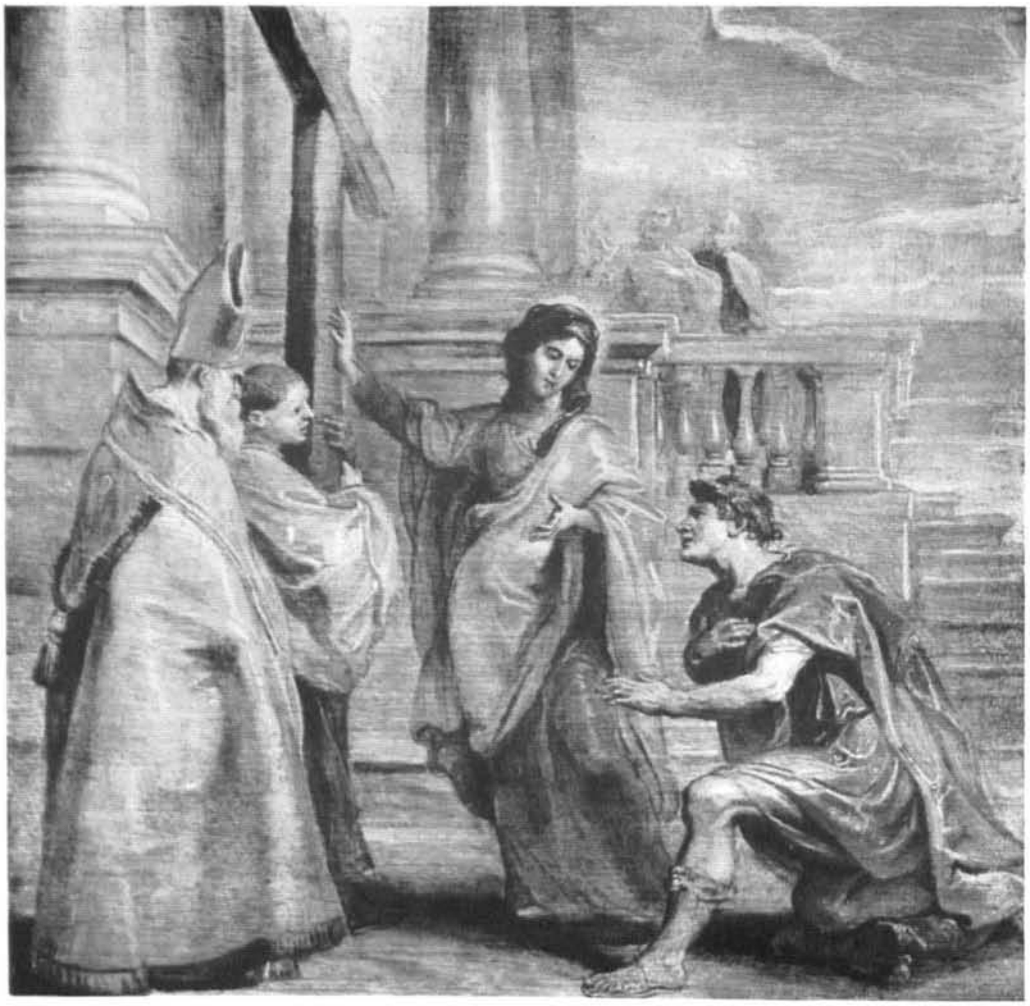
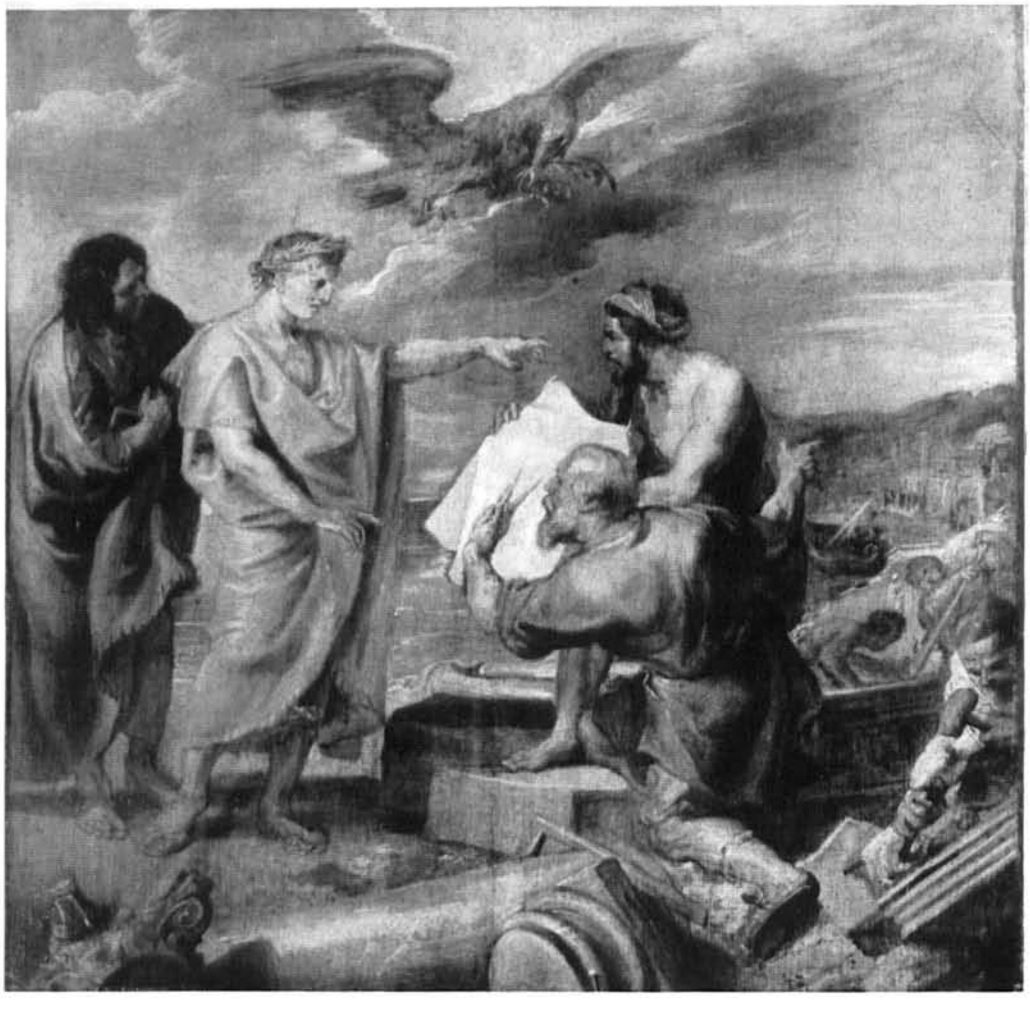


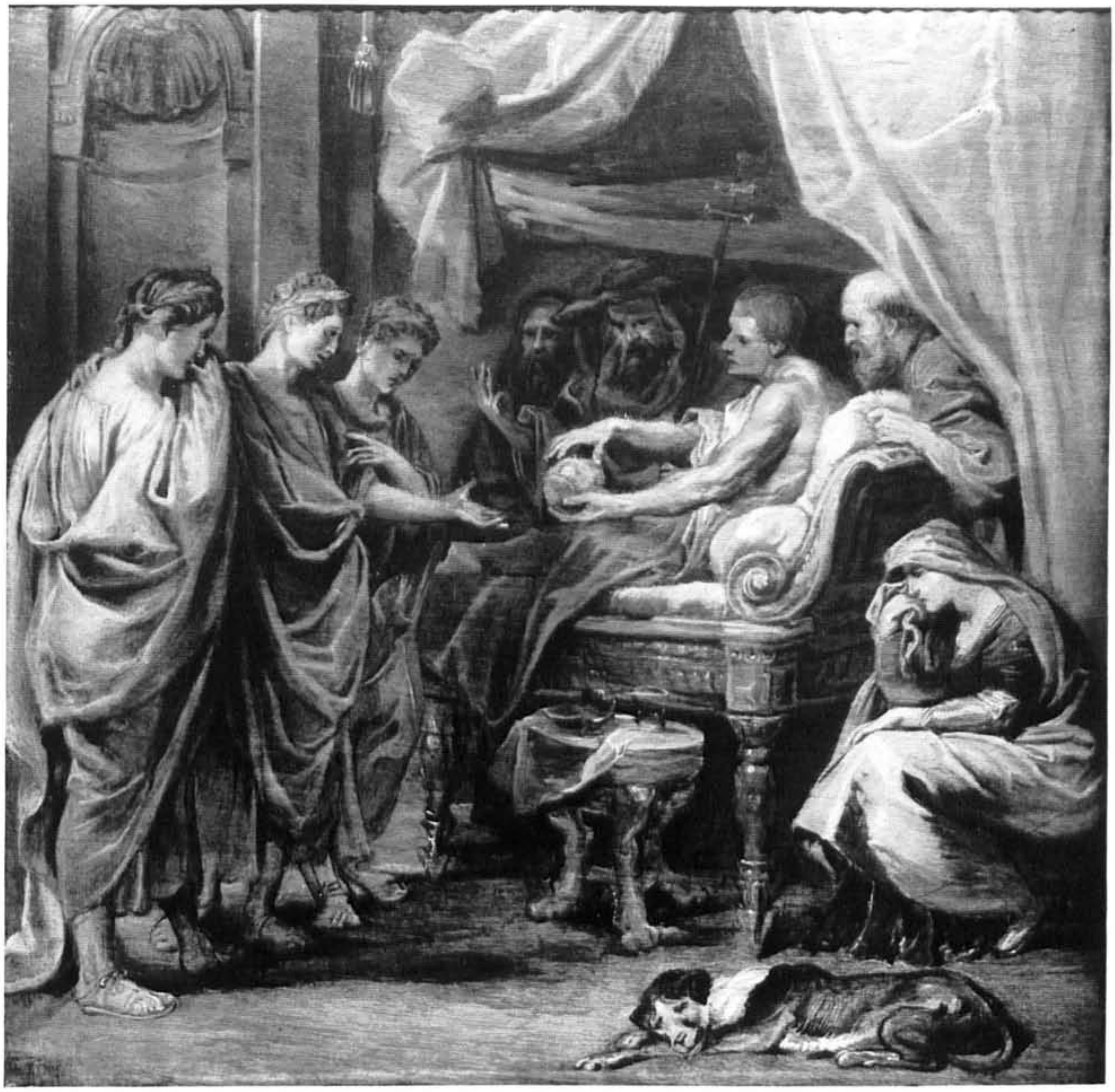
60. Rubens: Oil sketch for THE ENTRY INTO ROME (cf. Plate 16). Clowes Fund Collection, Indianapolis



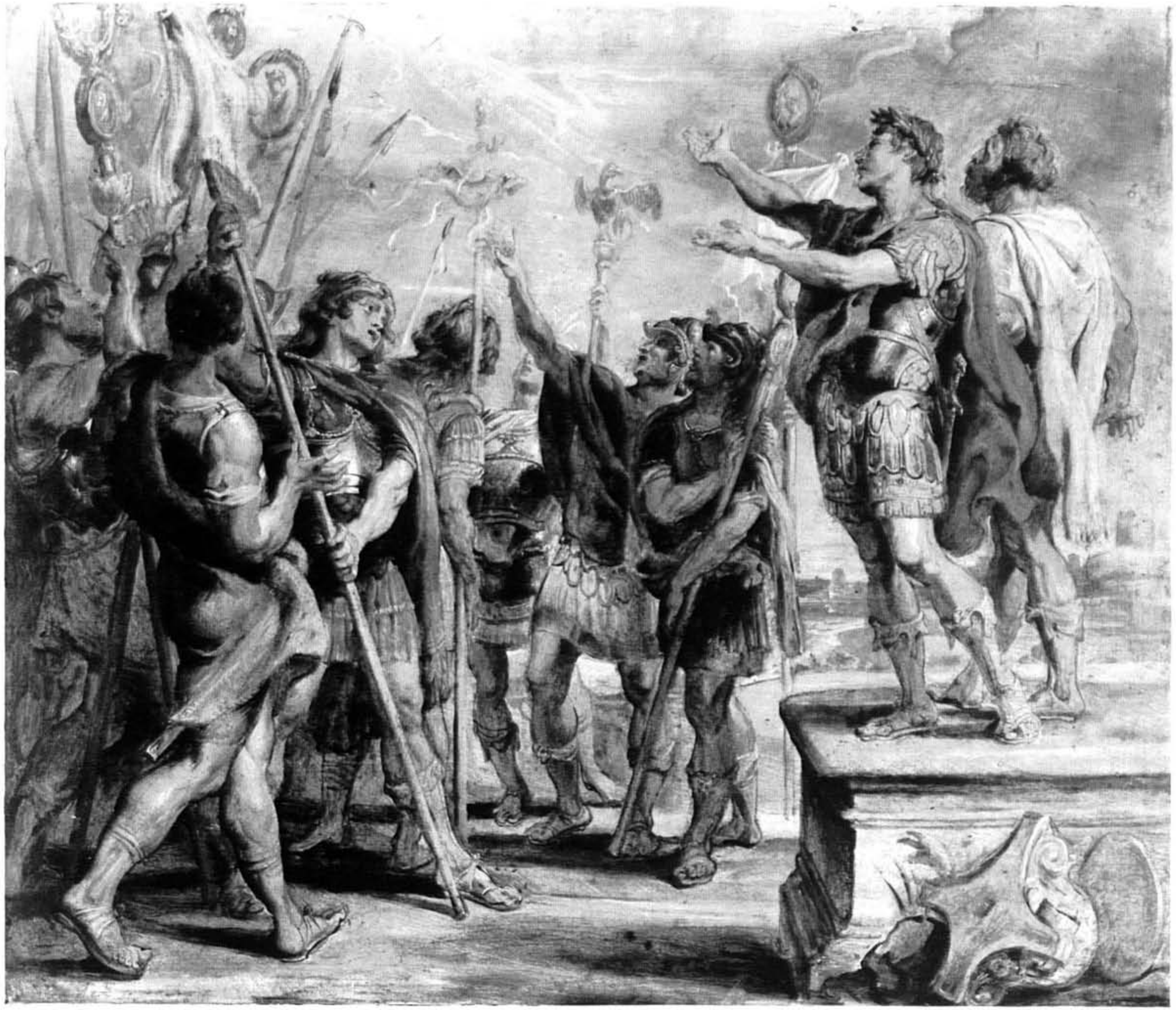
61. Rubens: Oil sketch for SAINT HELENA AND THE TRUE CROSS (cf. Plate 25).
N. A. C. Embiricos, London



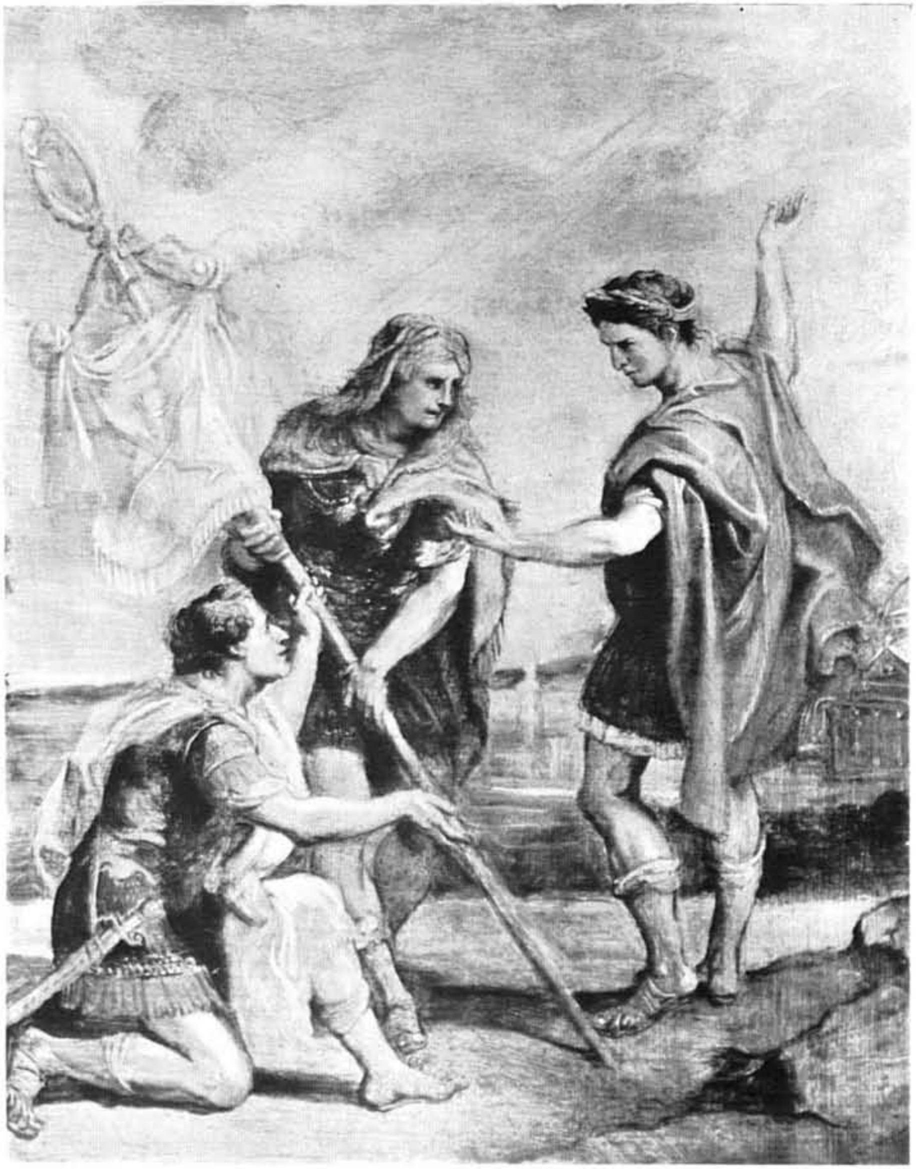
62. Rubens: Oil sketch for THE BUILDING OF CONSTANTINOPLE (cf. Plate 26).
Maxwell Macdonald, Glasgow



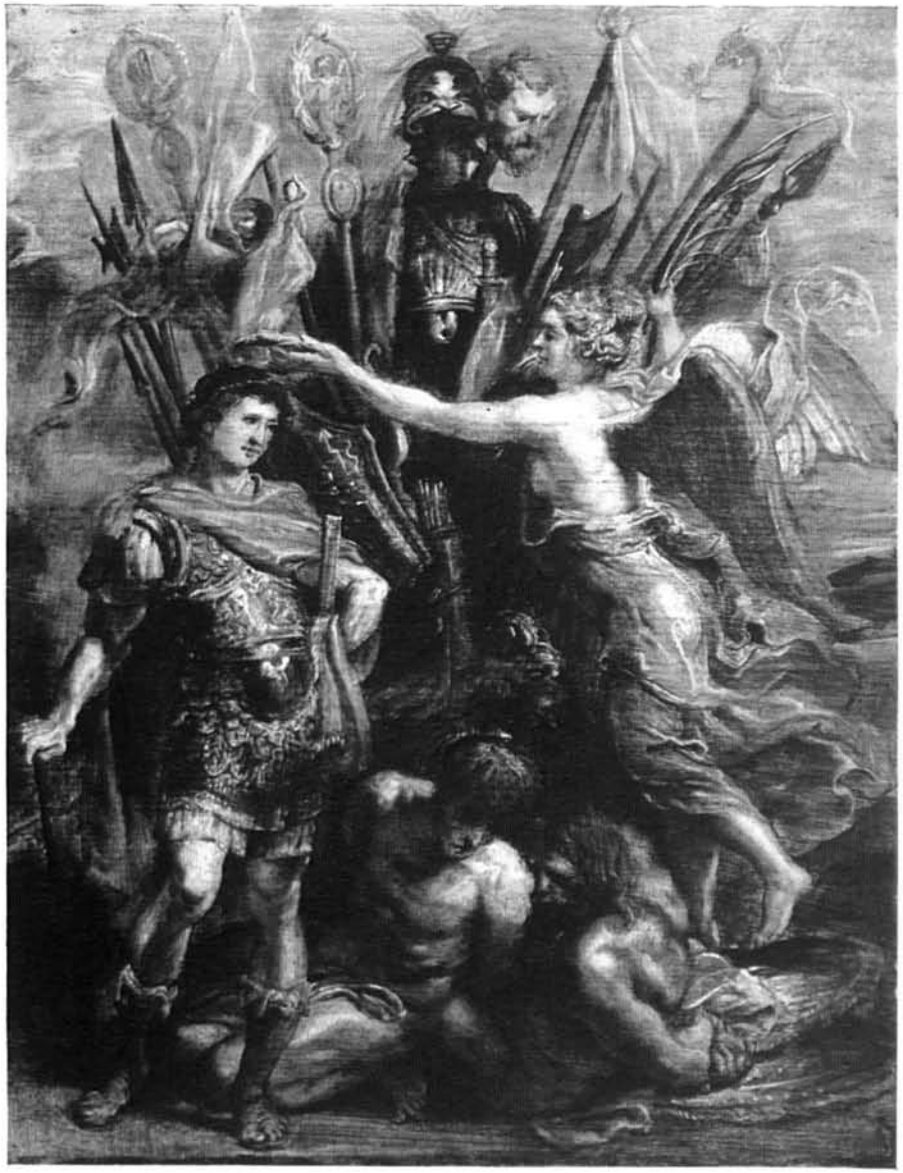
63. Rubens: Oil sketch for THE DEATH OF CONSTANTINE (cf. Plate 27). Private Collection, Paris



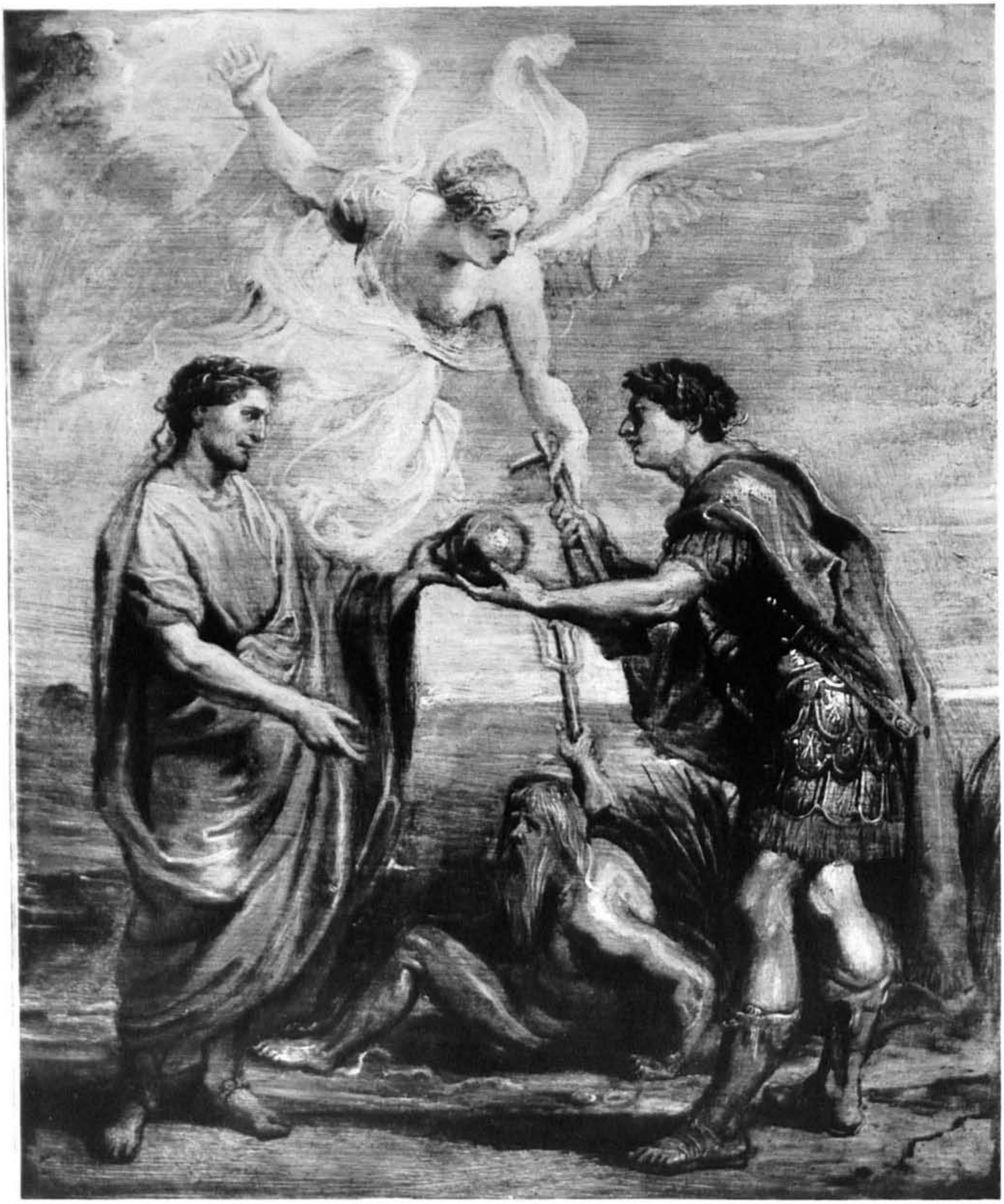
64. Rubens: Oil sketch for THE APPARITION OF THE MONOGRAM OF CHRIST. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia



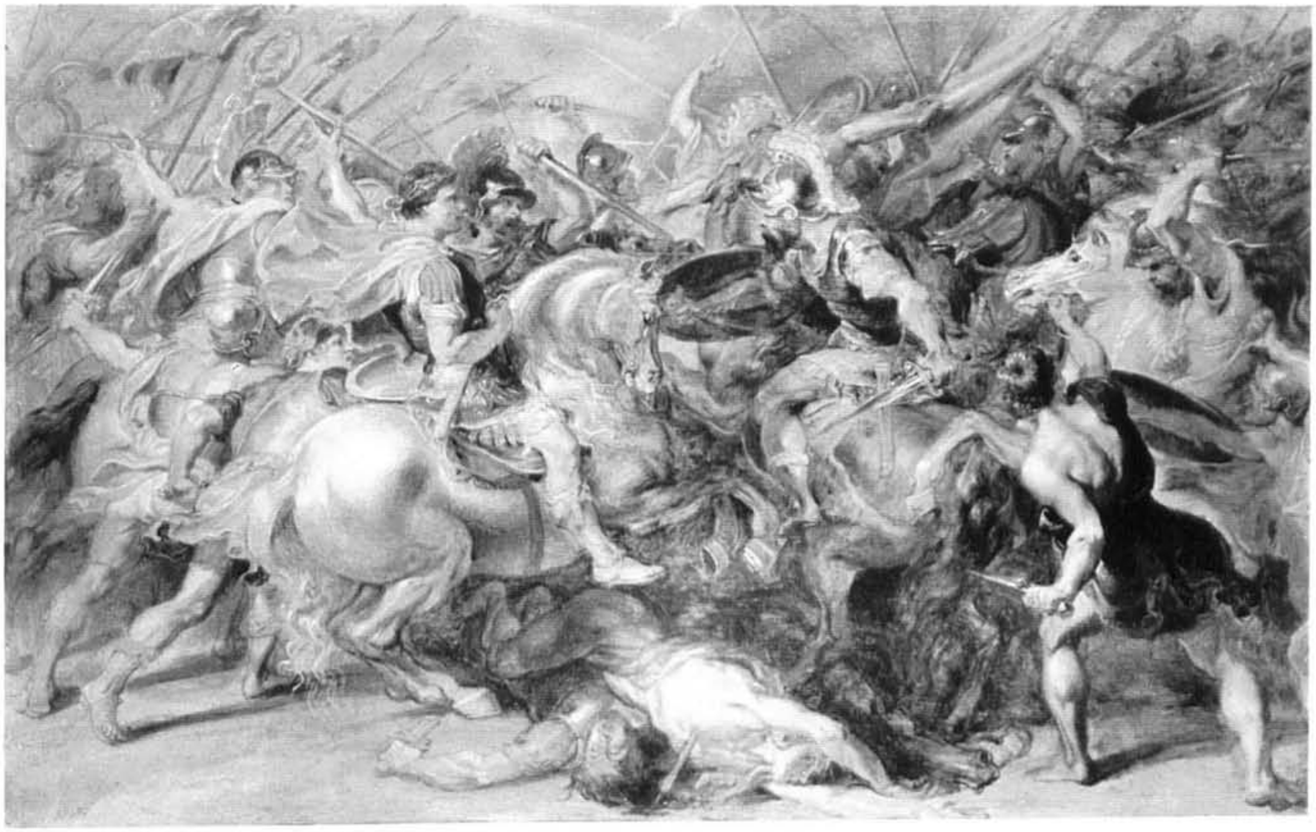
65. Rubens: Oil sketch for THE LABARUM. H. E. M. Benn, Haslemere



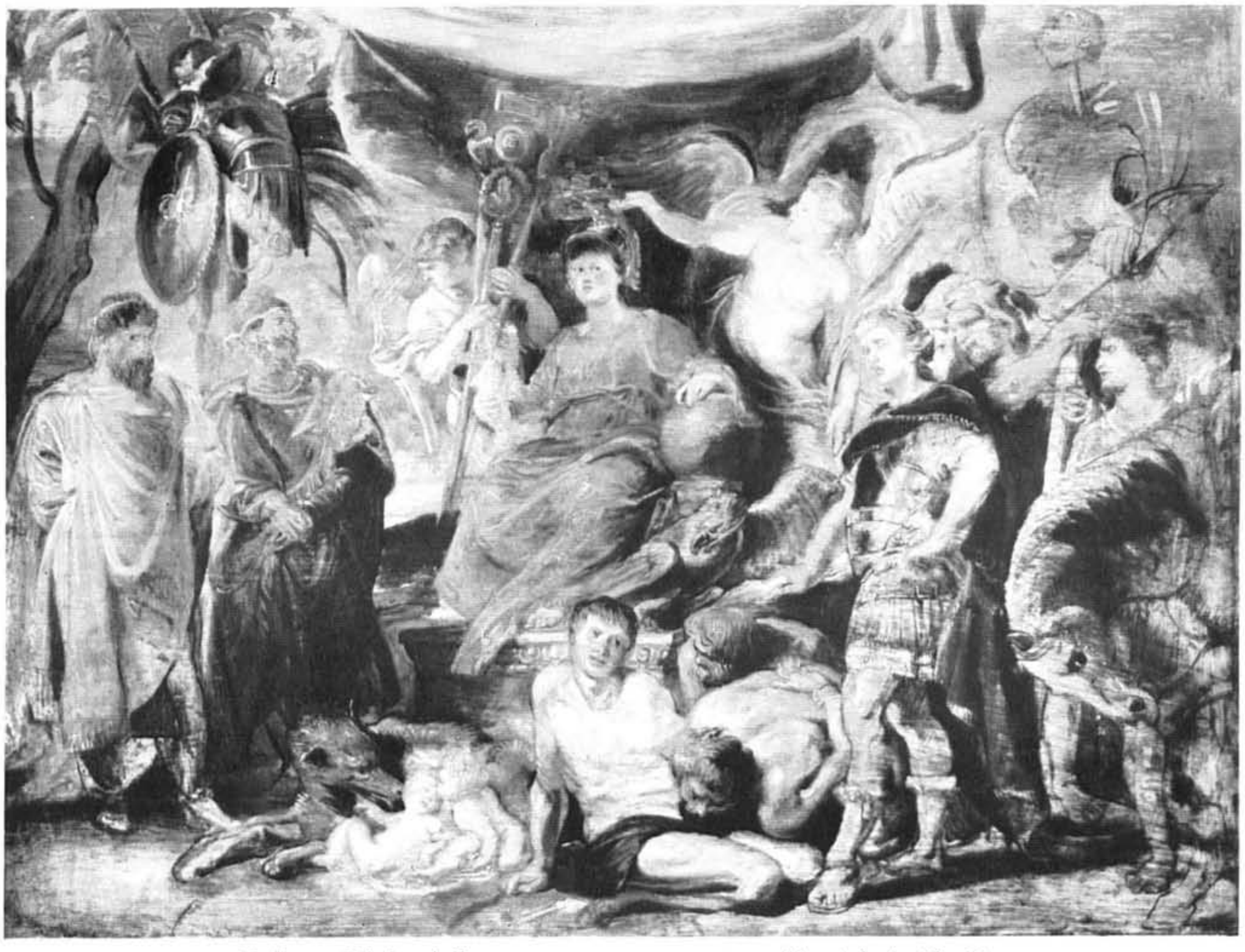
66. Rubens: Oil sketch for THE TROPHY. H. E. M. Benn, Haslemere



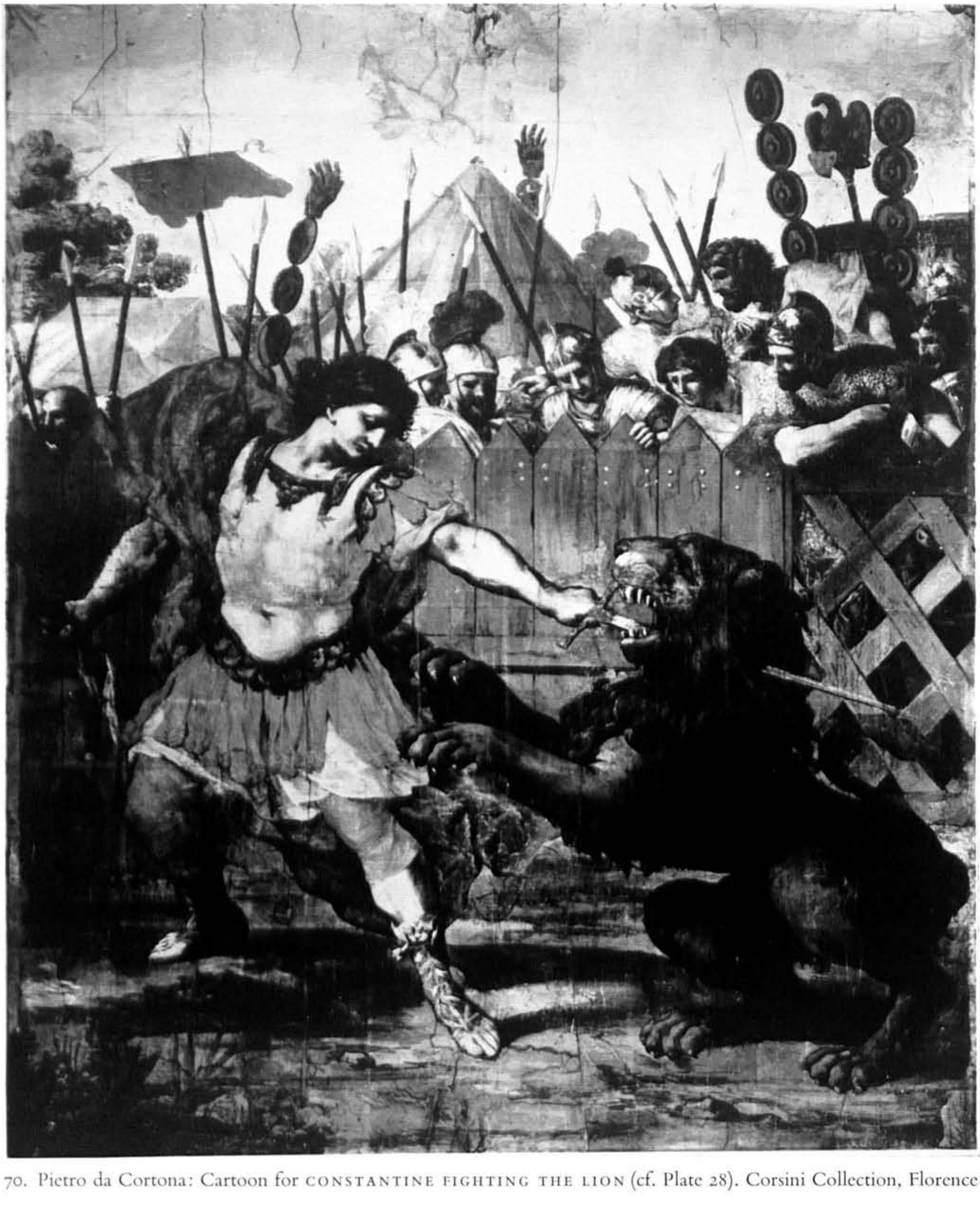
67. Rubens: Oil sketch for CONSTANTINE AND CRISPUS. H. E. M. Benn, Haslemere



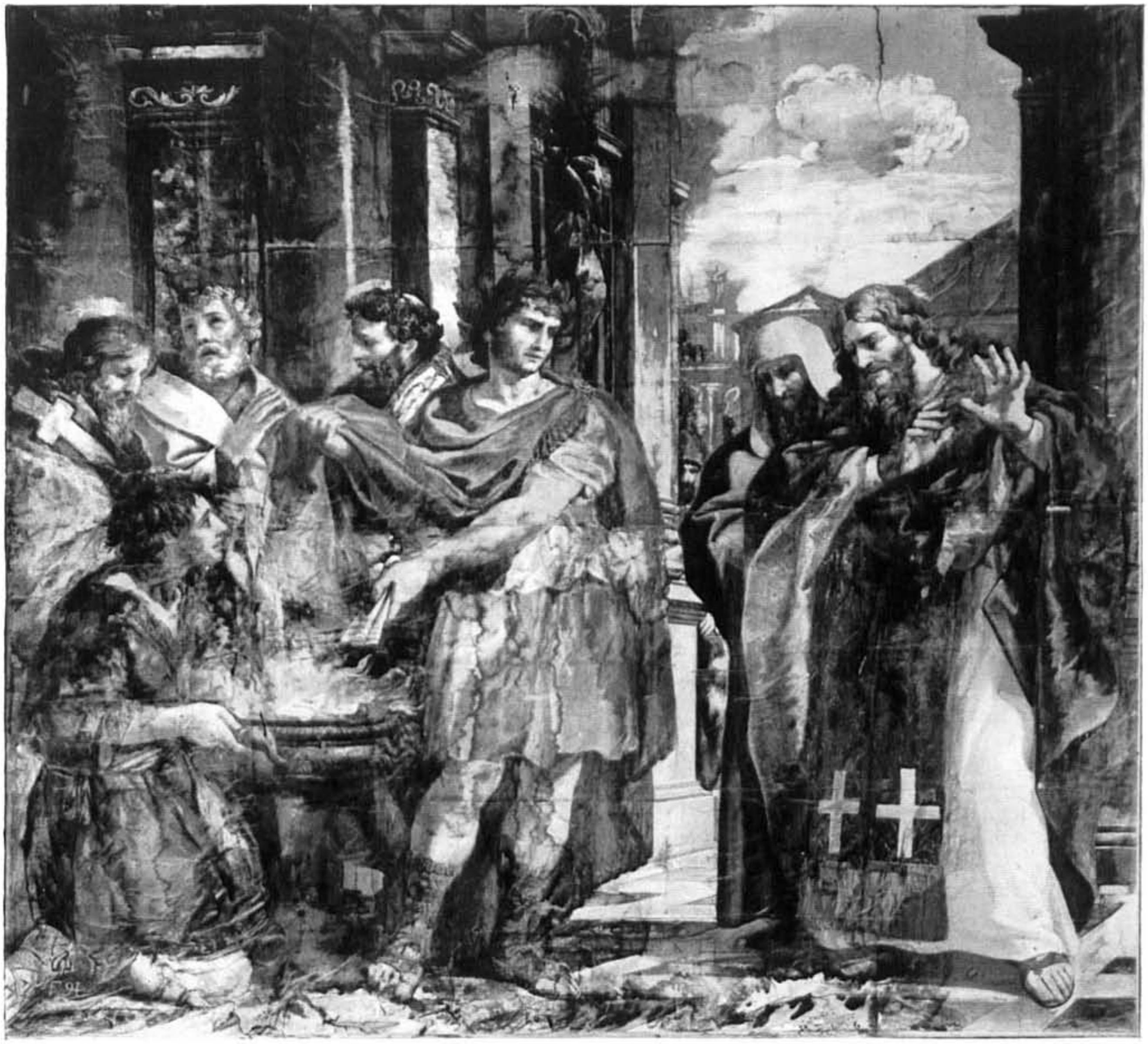
68. Rubens: Oil sketch for THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST LICINIUS, LAND BATTLE. Nelson Gallery – Atkins Museum (Nelson Fund), Kansas City, Missouri



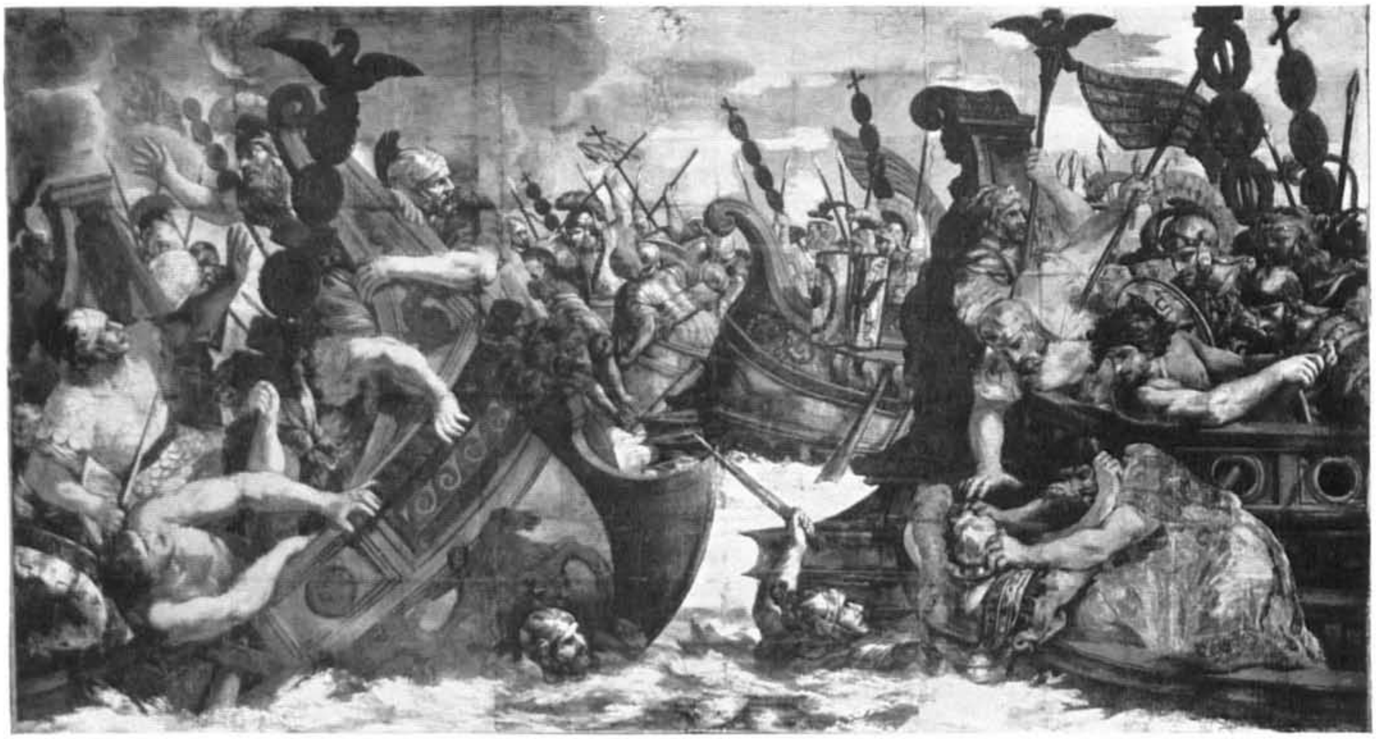
69. Rubens: Oil sketch for THE TRIUMPH OF ROME. Mauritshuis, The Hague



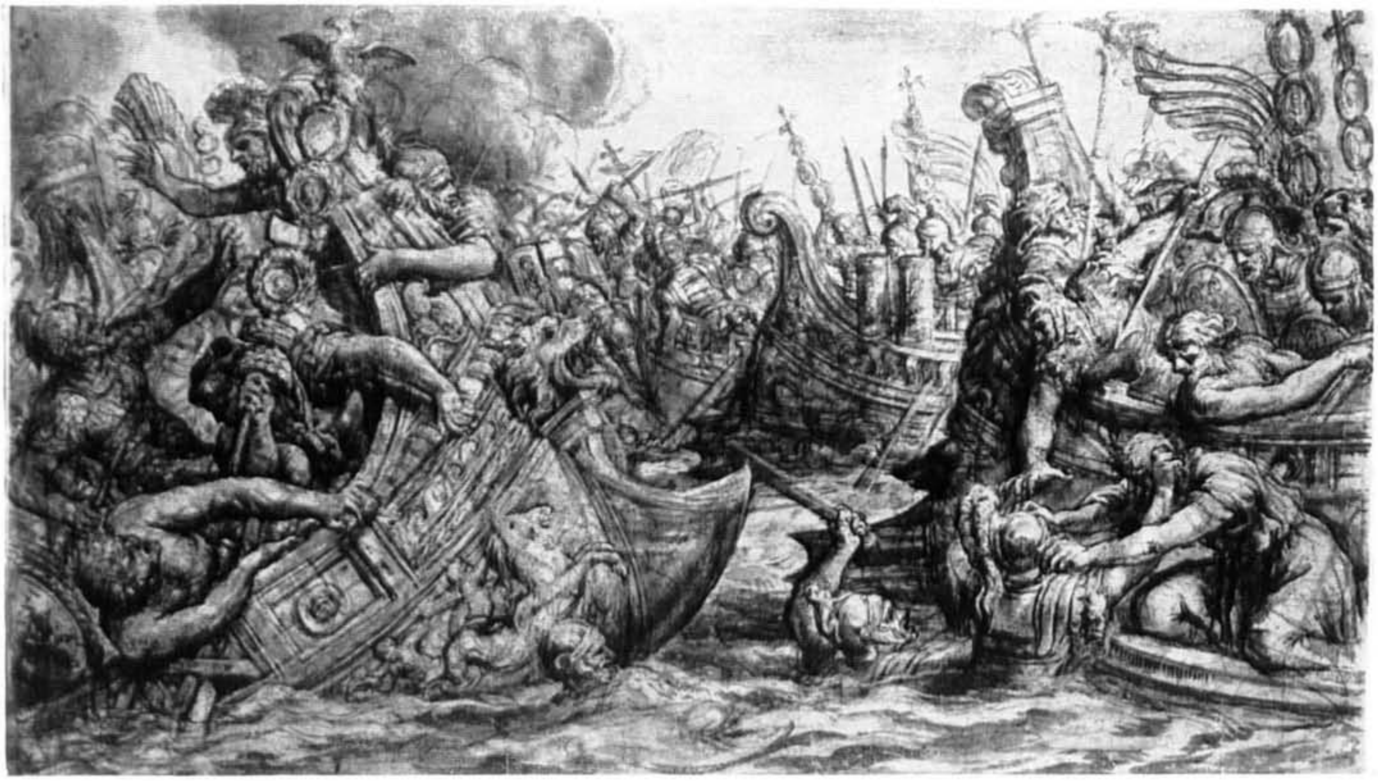
70. Pietro da Cortona: Cartoon for CONSTANTINE FIGHTING THE LION (cf. Plate 28). Corsini Collection, Florence



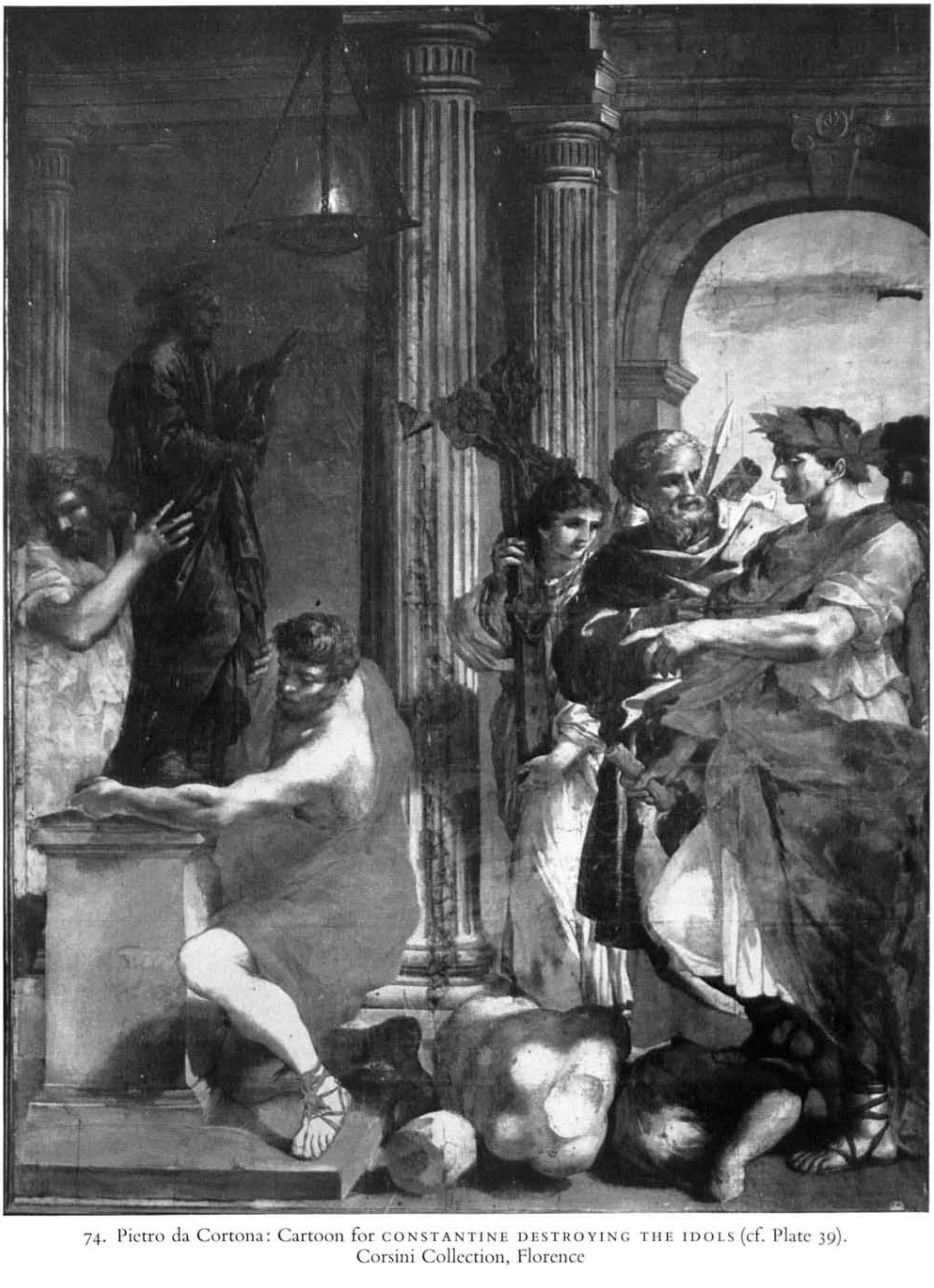
71. Pietro da Cortona: Cartoon for CONSTANTINE BURNING THE MEMORIALS (cf. Plate 32).
Corsini Collection, Florence



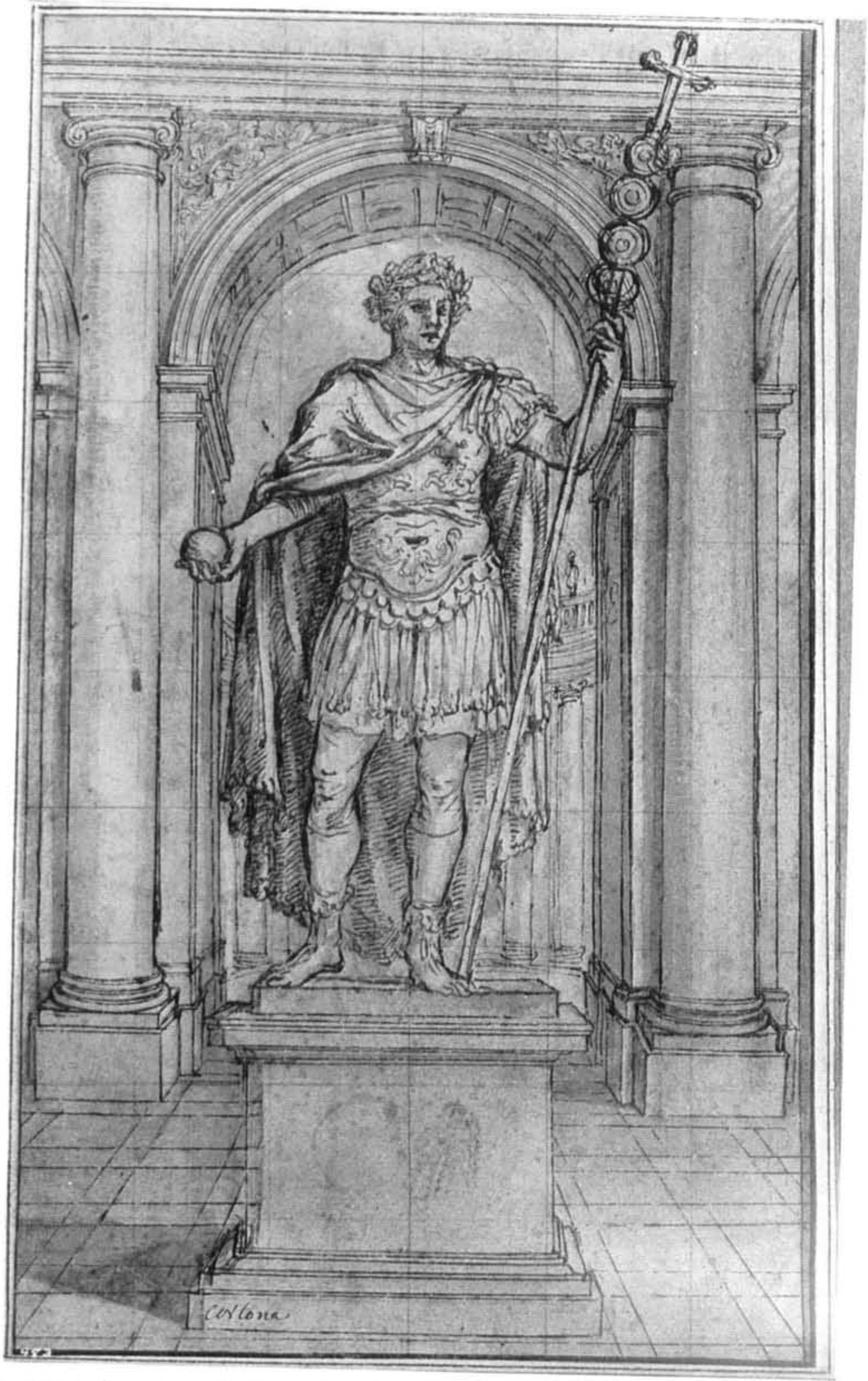
72. Pietro da Cortona: Cartoon for THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST LICINIUS, SEA BATTLE (cf. Plate 35). Corsini Collection, Florence



73. Pietro da Cortona: Preliminary drawing for THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST LICINIUS, SEA BATTLE (cf. Plate 35), Uffizi, Florence



74. Pietro da Cortona: Cartoon for CONSTANTINE DESTROYING THE IDOLS (cf. Plate 39).
Corsini Collection, Florence



75. Pietro da Cortona (?): Pen and wash drawing for THE STATUE OF CONSTANTINE (cf. Plate 40). Location not known

CATALOGUE

CATALOGUE

1: Plates 1-6

THE MARRIAGE OF CONSTANTINE.
Woven 1623–1625. 59.78.2

Measurements. Overall: height, 15 feet 11 inches; width, 19 feet 11½ inches.
Center panel: height, 10 feet 9 inches; width, 14 feet 5 inches.
Technique. Low-warp loom. Linen warp; 28 threads per inch. Silk and wool weft with silver and gold. ☧ and pendant crosses under coats of arms couched with gold and silver.
Description. Center panel: In the center, Constantine stands; over his armor, a mantle (*chlamys*) fastened over his left shoulder by a clasp, with high leather shoes (*caligae*), a diadem of laurel on his head, his right arm extended, holding Fausta's right hand. She is dressed in a tunic-like garment over which a mantle is draped. From elaborately arranged hair falls a short mantle with a jewel attached to the edge, a jeweled diadem on her head. In back of Fausta and Constantine, Fausta's father, Maximianus, dressed in the same manner as Constantine, but with the mantle fastened over his right shoulder. In back of Maximianus, a bearded man in a long flowing robe (a priest?). At the left, two women with elaborate hair arrangements and clothes; behind them, two youths with torches. Facing Constantine and Fausta, Constantine's sister, Constantia, clothed in the same manner as Fausta, her garment with a jeweled neckline, fringe on her outer garment, beads around her neck, earrings, a platform-soled shoe showing beneath her robes. To her left, Licinius with a toga over a tunic, high leather shoes, and a laurel diadem. Licinius holds a ring in his right finger which he is putting on Constantia's finger. To the right, a sacrificial bull with a leaf (olive?) wreath around neck, a knotted ribbon hanging from horns, led by a tunic-clad peasant on each side, the one in back carrying a hatchet-like implement. In the center, a boy and a girl in tunics; the girl with a flower wreath on her head, carrying a box and torch; the boy blowing two horns. In the foreground, an altar with griffins at the base, horned masks and garlands at top. In the background, in the center, with a bronze group of Jupiter and Juno in a niche on either side, marble columns, leaf and berry (olive?) garlands at the sides, a lamp overhead.
Border: At the top, a heavily plastic cartouche form which encloses a tight floral wreath; in the center, ☧ (Chi Rho); from each side, a horn of Amaltheia, from which a large cluster of fruit and flowers emerges. Facing the center, a Greek sphinx. From behind the sphinx, a bound garland of flowers which rises to the corner, with a knotted ribbon entwined around all the forms. At the bottom, a cartouche resting on two paws, not as plastic as that at the top; from each side, horizontal members with a pendant palmette, ending in a head; in the cartouche, an eagle with a serpent in its mouth. At each side, a unit composed of a symmetrical wing-like plastic form at the top, with leaf scrolls terminating with clusters of fruit and leaves. At the sides, in the center, a cartouche enclosing the arms of Navarre on the right side, the arms of France on the left side, the collar of the order of the Saint Esprit surrounding the coats of arms. Above the arms, suspended by ribbon, a cluster of flowers with palm leaves on either side, ribbons knotted around a scepter, the tasseled ends falling on either side of a crown; below the crown, a cartouche enclosing a mask. Below the arms, a cartouche form from which is suspended a unit composed of palm leaves on either side of a cluster of flowers with two trumpets, all entwined with ribbon. In the corners, cartouche forms with palmettes enclosing masks, each head and cartouche slightly different from the others. Enclosing the ornamental border, on the inside, a simple shaped molding and a rounded molding with surface ornament of palmette and leaf scrolls; on the outside, a bead molding and a simple shaped molding enclosed by the blue selvedge.
Condition. Excellent color preservation. Few old and new repairs.
Marks. In lower selvedge to left: P ⚜. In right selvedge near lower corner: $\overset{F}{M}$ and IT.
Shop. Saint-Marcel, Paris.
Sketches and Cartoons. Rubens oil on panel sketch, M. W. Leatham, Finchampstead (Plate 57).
Comments. There are many differences between the sketch and the tapestry. Some of these are obviously necessary for the interpretation of the scene in a different medium while others are arbitrary changes probably made by the painter who executed the large cartoons after the Rubens sketches. The disposition of the elements in the tapestry is, in general, very similar to that in the sketch. Some of the elements have been altered, however, such as the figures which are not as elongated in the tapestry. The tonal values have also been changed, the interplay of light and shadow in the sketch is considerably altered in its interpretation on the loom. Most evident is the center background which becomes quite dark in the tapestry.

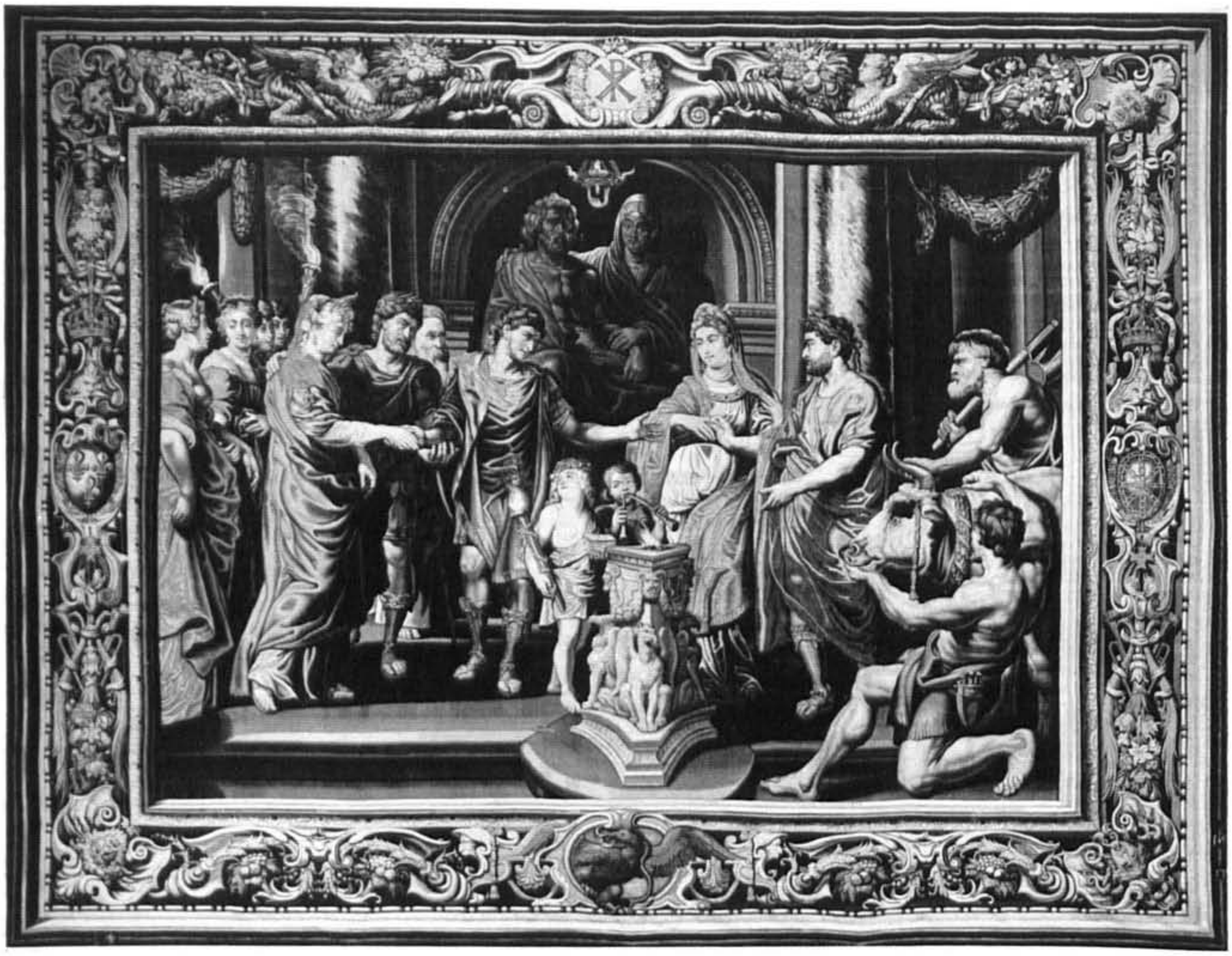


Fig. 11. The Marriage of Constantine (Cat.no.1)

Many details have been added in the tapestry: the drapery folds form different patterns and are more complicated, doubtlessly to demonstrate the weavers' skill, the thunderbolt has been put into Jupiter's opposite hand, the position of the hand of the peasant behind the bull has been changed, and details such as the pendant on Fausta's mantle have been added.

The toga-clad figure is very similar to the designs of Roman sculptures executed by Rubens for the *Electorum libri duo* (Antwerp, 1608), and the female costumes are closely related to those in antique sculpture, although they are elaborated and modified. The figure of Jupiter and the altar are based on antique examples. The group of the two peasants and the bull and the altar are similar to corresponding elements on a panel in the earlier Decius Mus series (KdK 143). Rubens has also introduced the female figures to the left in contemporary dress similar to that used in other paintings, but their identification remains obscure.

In this panel, Constantine is offering his sister in marriage to Licinius. The parallel to this action would be that of the marriages of Louis XIII and his sister Elizabeth of Bourbon with Anne of Austria and her brother Philip IV, which took place on November 9, 1615.

A drawing, possibly a preliminary study, in the Antwerp Print Room (Held, *Rubens Selected Drawings*, no. 44, pl. 45) is related to the two female figures to the left. In another drawing in the Louvre (*ibid.*, no. 50, pl. 52), similar figures are used by Rubens.

The altar and the two children in this panel are probably based on the similar group in the Raphael cartoon for the *Sacrifice at Lystra* in the series of tapestry designs of the *Acts of the Apostles*. The wide border is typical of those used in the Saint-Marcel shop, particularly those woven in the *boutique d'or* and signed by Taye and Maëcht, a Diana series, for example (Fenaille, *État général*, vol. I, opp. p. 236), with similar cartouches, garlands and decorated molding. A larger group from the shop includes brackets, classical *rinceaux* and vase forms with the flower garlands and heavily

plastic cartouche forms (Fenaille, vol. I, opp. pp. 222, 234, 242). In the later period, all of the Paris shops use narrower borders with classical elements such as *rinceau*, heavy moldings and pilaster ornament. The tapestries related to Vouet (Fenaille, vol. I, pp. 305 ff.) maintain the wide border, but use classical elements.
Ex Coll. Barberini, Rome; Corsini, 1907; Private Collection, London, 1924; Samuel H. Kress Collection.

2: Plates 7-9

THE BAPTISM OF CONSTANTINE. Woven 1623–1625.

59.78.4

Measurements. Overall: height, 15 feet 8 inches; width, 17 feet 10¾ inches.
Center panel: height, 10 feet 6½ inches; width, 11 feet 5 inches.
Technique. Low-warp loom. Linen warp; 28 threads per inch. Silk and wool weft with silver and gold. Fleur-de-lis, ☧, pendant crosses, robes and tiara of the Pope, sword hilt couched with silver and gold.
Description. CENTER PANEL: In the center, Constantine, clothed in a toga, kneels to the right of a font; behind him, an acolyte holding his toga, a cardinal holding a torch and a group of five men, one, bearded, with a turban. To the left of the font, Pope Sylvester in an alb, a richly worked cope and stole, and wearing a papal tiara, leans over the font in the act of baptizing Constantine. In front of the Pope, an acolyte with a book; to the rear, two bishops with miters, one holding the papal cross; a bareheaded man and a cardinal. The whole scene enclosed by eight twisted marble columns carved with bands of fluting and reliefs of children and grape vines. In the foreground to the right, a man observes the baptism dressed partly in the manner of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, with a short fur-trimmed garment, a mantle over his shoulder and a sword hanging from his waist; his boots, Roman *caligae*. In the center, a crown resting on a low cloth-draped stand and a pillow. A lamp hangs from above; in the background, a doorway with ornamental scrolls above.
BORDER: Side borders identical to *The Marriage of Constantine*. Upper and lower borders shortened by the omission of the sphinxes at the top and the contraction of the elements on either side of the cartouche at the bottom.
Condition. Many areas deteriorated and extensively repaired. Constantine's robe, light areas of the columns and border and other areas replaced. Many broken threads. Good color preservation in original areas.
Marks. In lower selvedge, to right of the center: P ⚜ in right selvedge, near lower corner: FM and IT
Shop. Saint-Marcel, Paris.
Sketches and Cartoons. Rubens oil on panel sketch, The Vicomtesse de Noailles, Paris (Plate 58).
Comments. In the manner of the preceding panel, the proportions have been altered. All of the architectural forms have been made taller and thinner and extend in the upper part to achieve a higher composition. The relationship of the figures to each other, and to the architectural elements, remains relatively unaltered, however.
The scene obviously is taking place in the Lateran Baptistry in Rome according to the Sylvester legend. Rubens has replaced the eight plain columns with the ornate examples, but retained the architectural over-door added later to the Baptistry. The crown on the pillow may also be related to the literary sources. In the earliest legend – of Near Eastern origin – dealing with the leprosy cure through baptism, it is related that the ceremony was delayed by a flame burning above water until the Emperor's crown was removed. In the sketch there is no indication of the crown, indicating that the addition was made in the large cartoons.
The identity of the male figure in the foreground to the right is not known. Dressed in the manner of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, except for the boots, he psychologically is not included in the action portrayed, but is merely a spectator at the scene. In the 'Marriage', the female figures on the extreme left were similarly dressed in a contemporary style, not in Roman dress. It is tempting to offer the identification of the figure here as Louis XIII, but in neither the sketch nor the tapestry is the resemblance to the King close enough to allow this identification.
The design for this panel is obviously related to the Raphael designs for the tapestry series of the *Acts of the Apostles*. In this design the close relationship with the *Healing of the Lame Man* is clear. The twisted columns, a favorite form of Rubens, only vary slightly from the Raphael examples. The movement of the figures around the columns, the architectural forms in the background, and the hanging lamp are all closely related to the earlier design.
Ex Coll. See entry under *The Marriage of Constantine*.

3: Plates 10-14, 36

THE BATTLE OF THE MILVIAN BRIDGE. Woven 1623–1625.

59.78.3

Measurements. Overall: height, 16 feet 2 inches; width, 24 feet 2½ inches.
Center panel: height, 10 feet 10 inches; width, 17 feet 10 inches.
Technique. Low-warp loom. Linen warp; 28 threads per inch. Silk and wool weft with gold and silver. Fleur-de-lis, ☧ and pendant crosses under coats of arms couched with gold and silver.

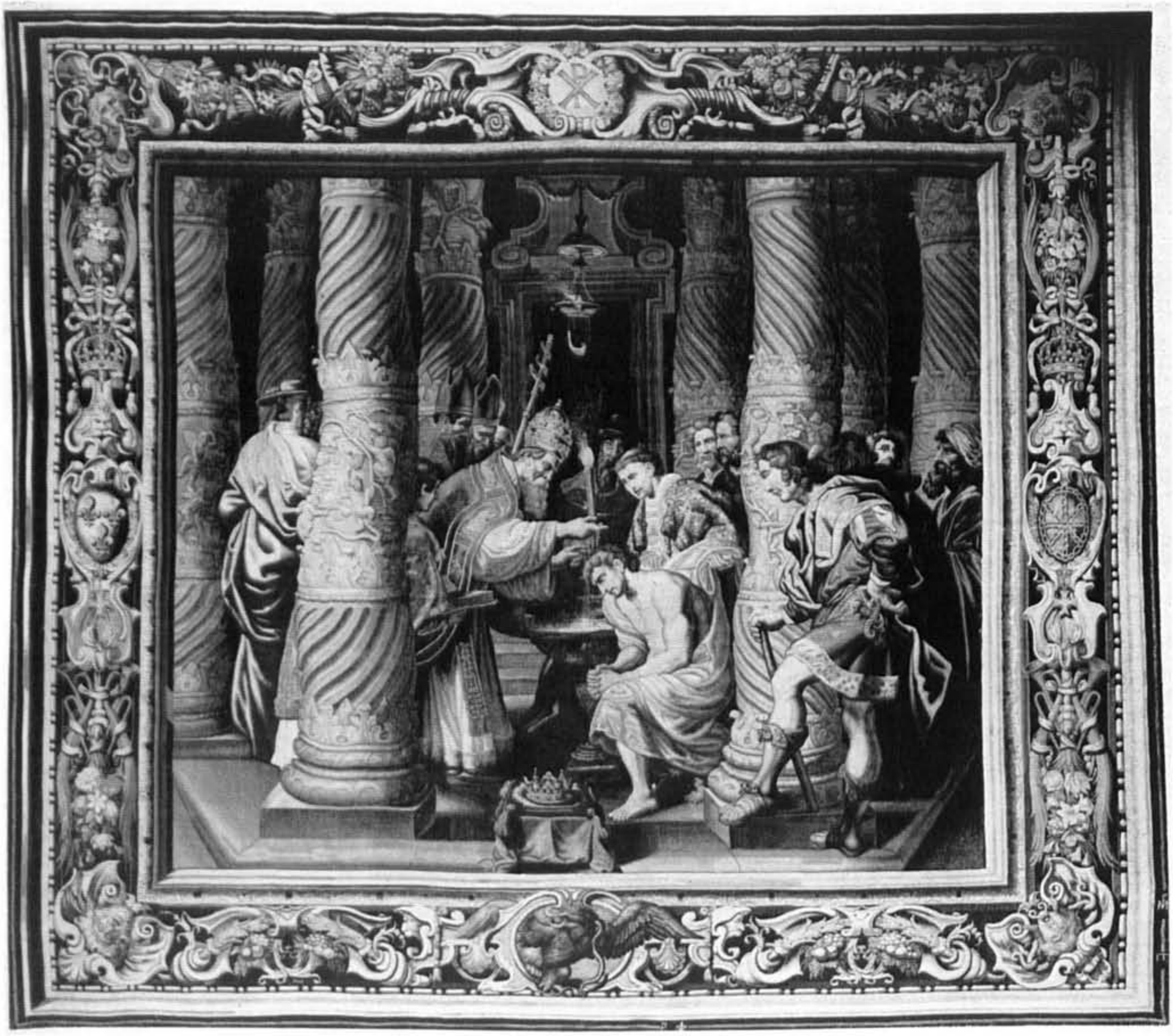


Fig. 12. The Baptism of Constantine (Cat.no.2)

Description. CENTER PANEL: From the right, Constantine's army advances over the Milvian Bridge. In the center, a mounted soldier with armor, a plumed helmet and high leather shoes, his horse rearing at the edge of the stone bridge. To the right, Constantine's soldiers, some mounted, others on foot in armor, and with spears and shields engage in close combat with the troops of Maxentius. Hanging from the bridge, two soldiers. Under the bridge, soldiers and horses in the river. To the left, the soldiers and horses of the troops of Maxentius falling into the river at the moment of the collapse of the bridge; Maxentius clothed in armor and with a laurel diadem falls to the front. In the upper left, wood and stones of the bridge falling into the river.

BORDER: Similar to that of the 'Marriage', with addition of elements to the upper and lower border to allow for greater width. In the upper part, floral garlands near corners on each side have been lengthened; birds sit on garlands with tails of sphinxes in mouths. In the lower part, units on either side of the central cartouche have been lengthened, other units of foliage added.

Condition. Much deterioration of silk threads; many broken wool threads; many old repairs. Good color preservation in original areas.

Marks. In lower selvedge, to the left: P ⚜. In right selvedge, near lower corner: FM and TH.

Shop. Saint-Marcel, Paris.

Sketches and Cartoons. Rubens oil on panel sketch, Wallace Collection, London (Plate 59).

Comments. In the tapestry, the proportions of the rectangle have been changed into one not as wide and narrow as the sketch with all the elements closer to each other in the tapestry but retaining their relative positions. Greatly changed is the shape of the arch of the bridge which in the sketch is very wide, while becoming narrower in the tapestry with the resultant vertical dominant dark area of the shadow which in the sketch was a triangular area. The overall dark and light pattern of the sketch has been maintained to a greater extent than in the 'Marriage'.

Ex Coll. See entry under *The Marriage of Constantine.*

4: Plates 15-22

THE ENTRY INTO ROME. Woven 1623–1625. 59.78.1

Measurements. Overall: height, 15 feet $11\frac{3}{4}$ inches; width, 17 feet $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches.
Central panel: height, 10 feet 9 inches; width, 12 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Technique. Low-warp loom. Linen warp; 28 threads per inch. Silk and wool weft with gold and silver. Fleur-de-lis, ☧ and pendant crosses under coats of arms couched in gold and silver.

Description. CENTER PANEL: Advancing from the right, Constantine on a horse, with a mantle over his armor, high boots on his feet, a jeweled diadem on his head. Following Constantine, the mounted imperial guards with plumed helmets, one carrying the banner on which the monogram of Christ – ☧ – is figured. On Constantine's left, a man on foot carrying the fasces over his shoulder. Advancing from the left through an arch to meet the new Emperor, Minerva, with a plumed helmet, flowing robes, a sword and high boots; she holds in her right hand a statuette of a winged victory. Behind the goddess, two bearded men in flowing robes and a man carrying a torch. To the rear, two kneeling men and a woman holding a child. Above Constantine, a winged victory placing a laurel diadem on the Emperor; beside her, a winged *putto* blowing a horn. In the background, a circular building (Castel Sant'Angelo?) with other buildings in the distance. In the foreground, plants, a column and a capital.

BORDER: Duplicates that on the 'Baptism'.

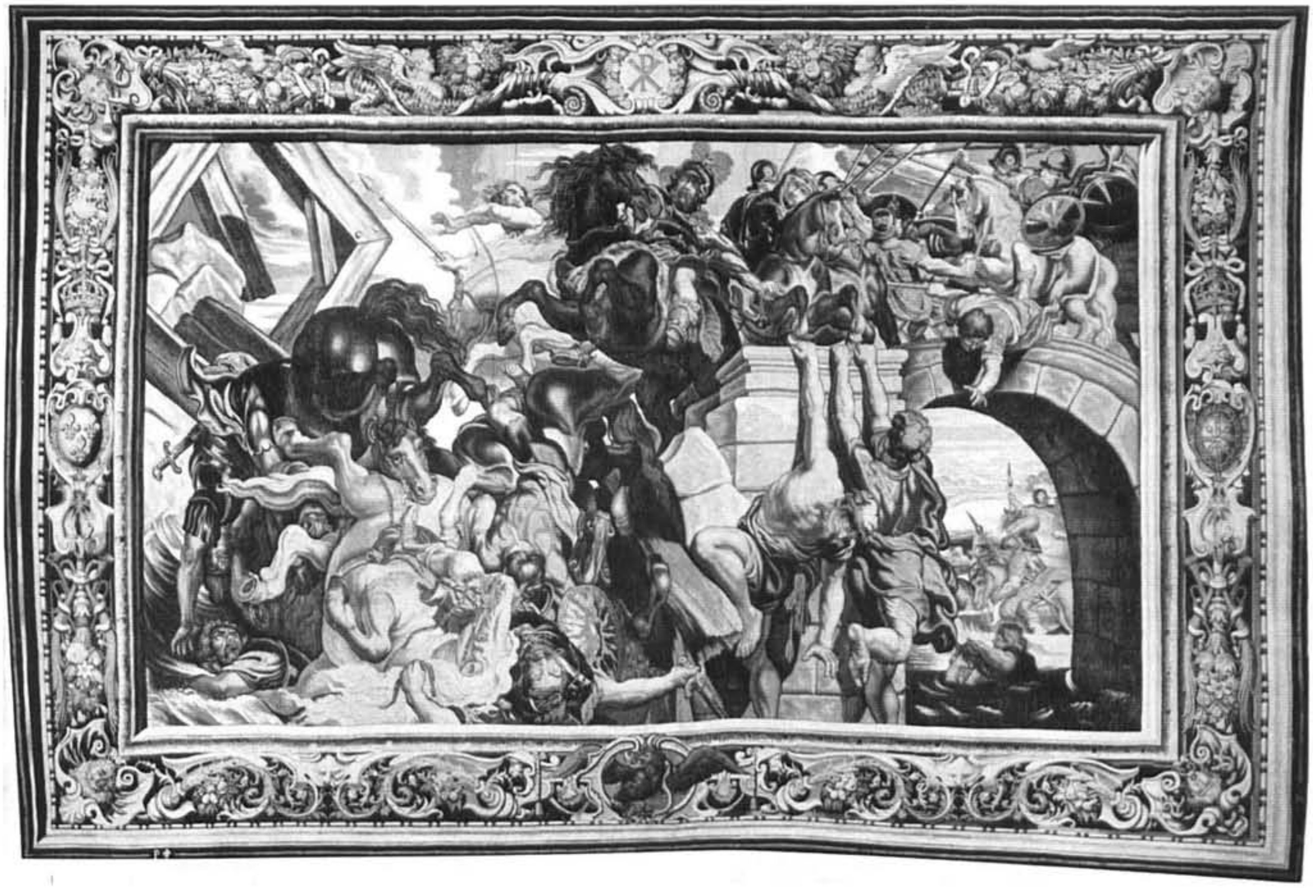


Fig. 13. The Battle of the Milvian Bridge (Cat.no.3)

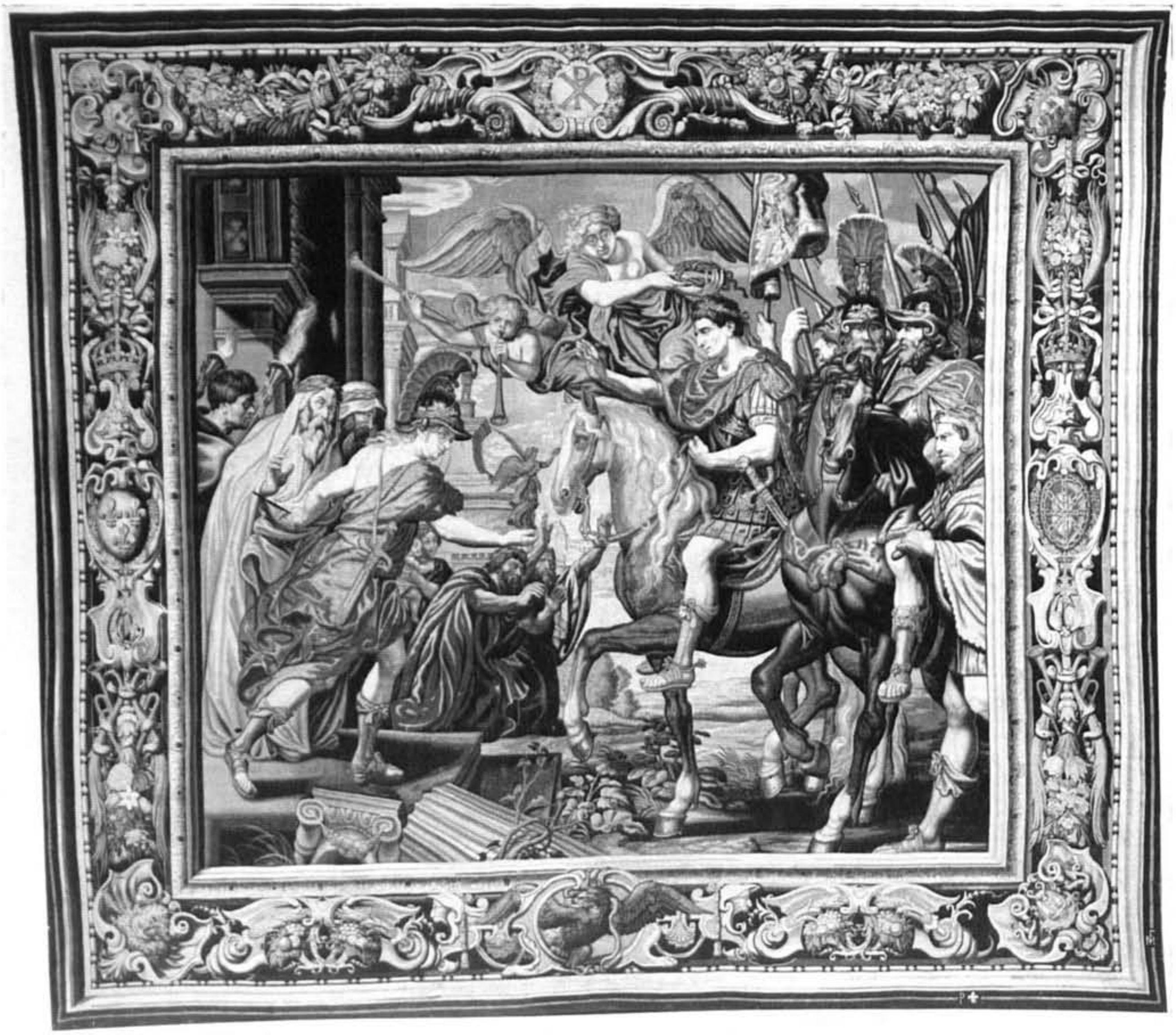


Fig. 14. The Entry into Rome (Cat.no.4)

Condition. Excellent color preservation. Some old and new repairs. Many broken threads.

Marks. In lower selvedge, to the right: P ⚜. In right selvedge near lower corner: $\overset{F}{\text{M}}$.

Shop. Saint-Marcel, Paris.

Sketches and Cartoons. Rubens oil on panel sketch, Clowes Fund Collection, Indianapolis (Plate 60).

Comments. Like the preceding panel, the proportions of the composition have been altered in the tapestry, the rectangle having proportionately greater height than width than in the sketch. The elements are consequently closer together. The column on the extreme right in the sketch has been completely omitted in the tapestry. Possibly to compensate for this important compositional element, the position of the capital on the ground has been changed. As in the other tapestries, details have been added and elaborated on, such as the plant forms in the foreground. The Rubens design is based on Roman historical reliefs such as one in the Capitoline Museum, Rome (fig. 9) (cf. Reinach, *Répertoire de Reliefs . . .*, vol. I, p. 374, no. 1).

Ex Coll. See entry under *The Marriage of Constantine.*

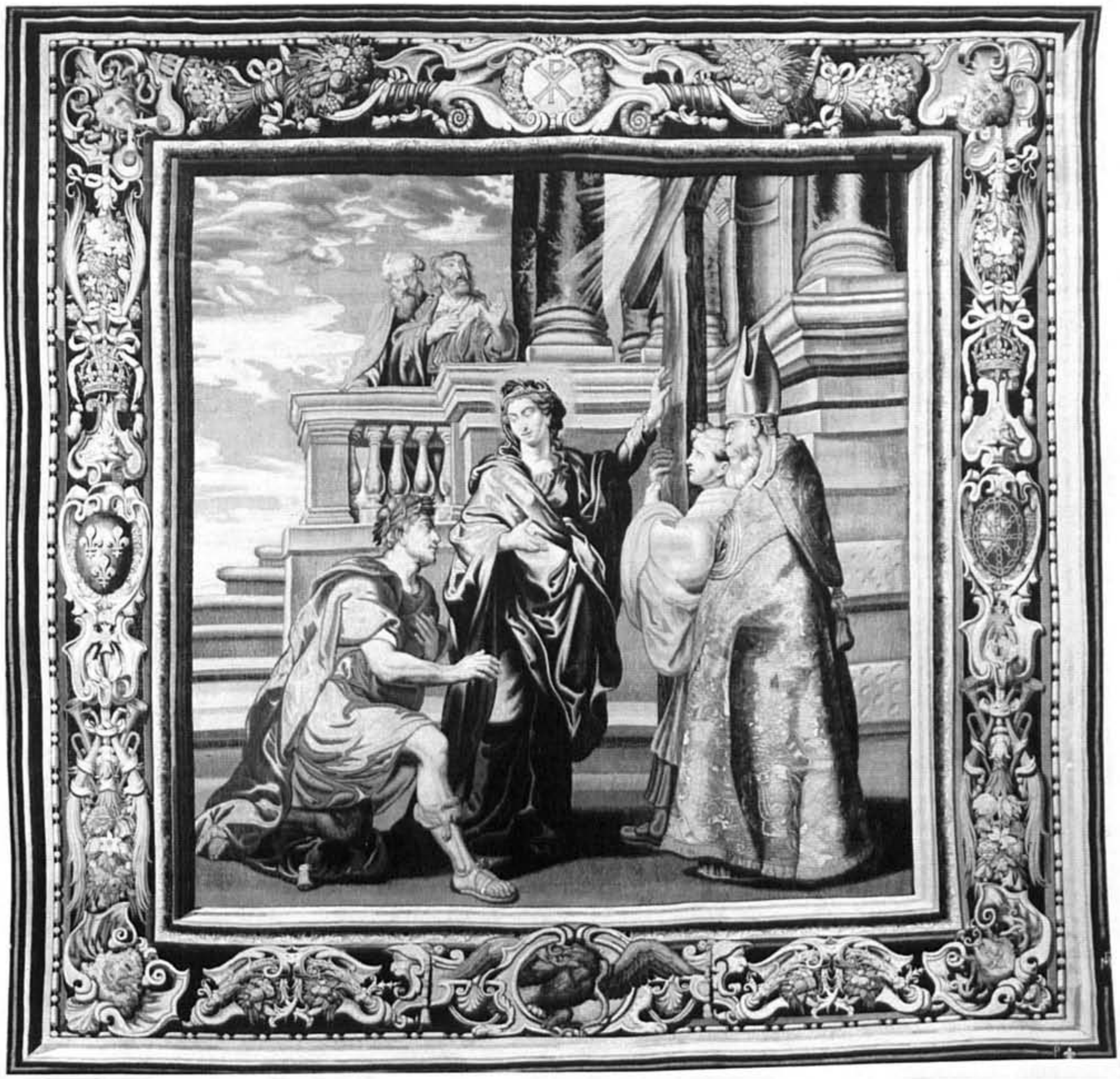


Fig. 15. Saint Helena and the True Cross (Cat.no.5)

5: Plates 23-25

SAINT HELENA AND THE TRUE CROSS.

Woven 1623–1625. 59.78.6

Measurements. Overall: height, 16 feet 3 inches; width, 16 feet 6 inches.

Center panel: height, 10 feet 11 inches; width, 10 feet 10½ inches.

Technique. Low-warp loom. Linen warp; 28 threads per inch. Silk and wool weft with gold and silver. Fleur-de-lis, ☧ and pendant crosses under coats of arms couched in gold and silver. Bishop's vestments and Saint Helena's diadem couched with silk, wool and metallic threads.

Description. CENTER PANEL: To the left, Constantine in a flowing mantle over a tunic, with high boots and a laurel diadem, kneels on a cushion gazing at the cross. In the center, Helena in a mantle over a tunic-like garment, a scarf over her head, gestures to the cross held by an acolyte who stands to the right. In front of the cross stands a bearded bishop (Eusebius of Nicomedia?) in a magnificently worked cope, miter (*mitra auriphrygiata*) with bands (*infulae*) hang-

ing from the back. In the background, steps rising from the left, behind a balustrade to a columned building on the right. Behind the balustrade, two bearded men.
BORDER: Almost identical to that on the 'Entry' panel.
Condition. Excellent color preservation. Few old and new repairs. Some broken threads.

Marks. In lower selvedge to right: P ⚜. In right selvedge, near corner: .
Shop. Saint-Marcel, Paris.
Sketches and Cartoons. Rubens oil on panel sketch, N. A. C. Embiricos, London (Plate 61).
Comments. The proportions of the sketch have been altered in the tapestry by reducing the space above the figures, the positions of which have also been changed. The background receives greater emphasis in the tapestry than in the sketch and the details are more complex, particularly the bishop's cope which in the sketch has no indication of surface ornament except on the band and hood. In the tapestry, the cope has a richly patterned surface overlaid with elaborate couching of metallic threads. Like the 'Building', this design is not as closely related to the antique as some of the other panels. The diagonals, and particularly the movement leading the eye behind the central group upward and to the right, contribute to opposing an antique impression. This architectural structure with steps and balustrade and columns leading upward from the right was used earlier by Rubens in the *Miracles of St. Francis Xavier* (KdK 205).
Ex Coll. See entry under *The Marriage of Constantine.*

6: Plate 26

THE BUILDING OF CONSTANTINOPLE.
Woven 1623–1625. 59.78.7

Measurements. Overall: height, 15 feet 10½ inches; width, 15 feet 9 inches.
Center panel: height, 11 feet; width, 10 feet 6 inches.
Technique. Low-warp loom. Linen warp; 28 threads per inch. Silk and wool weft with silver and gold. Fleur-de-lis, ☧ and pendant crosses under coats of arms couched with gold and silver.
Description. CENTER PANEL: To the right, Constantine, in a toga, high boots, a laurel diadem on his head, directing workmen. In back of the Emperor, a bearded man with similar robes. To the left, two workmen kneeling, the one in front with a tunic and high boots, calipers in his right hand, pointing with his left hand to the city in the background; the other, clothed in a tunic, a cloth around his head, showing a plan to Constantine. To the left, a workman carving stone; in back of him, two men working. On the ground, around the figures, columns, capitals and other architectural elements. Above the figures, an eagle holding a laurel wreath with its beak and claw. In the background the sea with boats and the city of Byzantium.
BORDER: Duplicates that on the two previous panels except for the contraction of the garlands at the top near the corners and the elements on either side of the center cartouche at the bottom.
Condition. Very slight fading and discoloration. Few very minor old repairs.
Marks. In the lower selvedge, to the right: P ⚜. In the right selvedge, near the lower corner: and IT.
Shop. Saint-Marcel, Paris.
Sketches and Cartoons. Rubens oil on panel sketch, Maxwell Macdonald, Glasgow (Plate 62).
Comments. This tapestry reproduces the proportions of the original sketch and the relationship of the elements to a greater extent than the previous panels. A few changes have been made in the tapestry: the position of the capital on the right is slightly altered, the eagle is larger and the drapery is more complex. Although Constantine and the figure behind him are clothed in Roman togas and Constantine wears Roman boots, the composition is not closely related to the antique. The two figures to the left particularly, with the strong diagonal lines and bodies in movement, and the spatial emphasis are opposed to the static antique quality which Rubens effected in some of the other compositions.
The plan which the workman holds is that of the Pantheon. The circular structure indicated shows the alternating semicircular and rectangular recesses with two columns in each niche, the tabernacles on the inside and the niches on the outside of the piers, the roof opening and the porch.
Ex Coll. Barberini, Rome; Charles Mather Ffoulke, Washington, D.C., 1889; Mrs. Phoebe Hearst, 1896; John R. McLean; Minneapolis Institute of the Arts, 1948; Samuel H. Kress Collection.

7: Plate 27

THE DEATH OF CONSTANTINE.
Woven 1623–1625. 59.78.5

Measurements. Overall: height, 16 feet 1½ inches; width, 16 feet 4 inches.
Center panel: height, 10 feet 8 inches; width, 10 feet 7¼ inches.
Technique. Low-warp loom. Linen warp; 28 threads per inch. Silk and wool weft with gold and silver. Fleur-de-lis, ☧ and pendant crosses under coats of arms couched with gold and silver.
Description. CENTER PANEL: In the center, Constantine reclines on an elaborately carved bed, vaguely Roman in style; in his outstretched hand, an orb symbolizing the

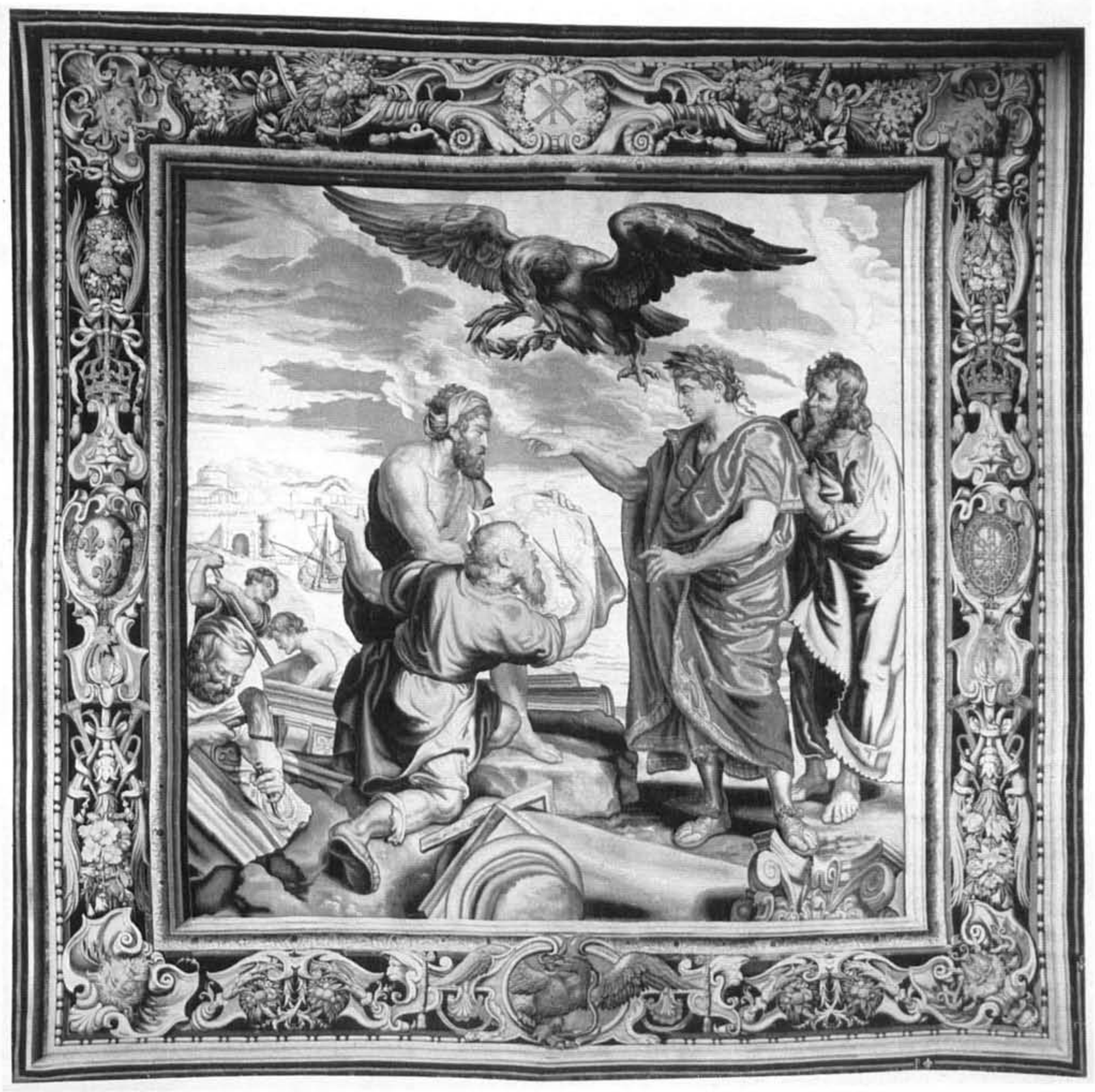


Fig. 16. The Building of Constantinople (Cat.no.6)

Roman empire which he gives to his three sons, Constantine II, Constans, and Constantius who with togas over tunics, boots and laurel diadems, stand to the right. Behind Constantine, a bearded cardinal holding a patriarchal cross and two bearded men; above them, a drapery held by a cord. To the left, a mourning female figure sitting on a low stool. In front of the bed, a low table with three animal legs, holding on a cloth, a plate, a glass and a bottle. In the foreground, a dog; in the background, columns and a niche.

BORDER: Identical to that on *The Building of Constantinople*.

Condition. Greater deterioration than other panels. Many areas completely lost and recently replaced: top part of under garment of man on right, light cloth in back of Constantine, light areas of female garments, cloth and articles on table, light areas of dog. Other small losses over entire panel. Little fading in original areas.

Marks. In lower selvedge, to the right: P ⚜. In right selvedge, near lower corner: $\overset{F}{M}$ and $\overset{T}{H}$.

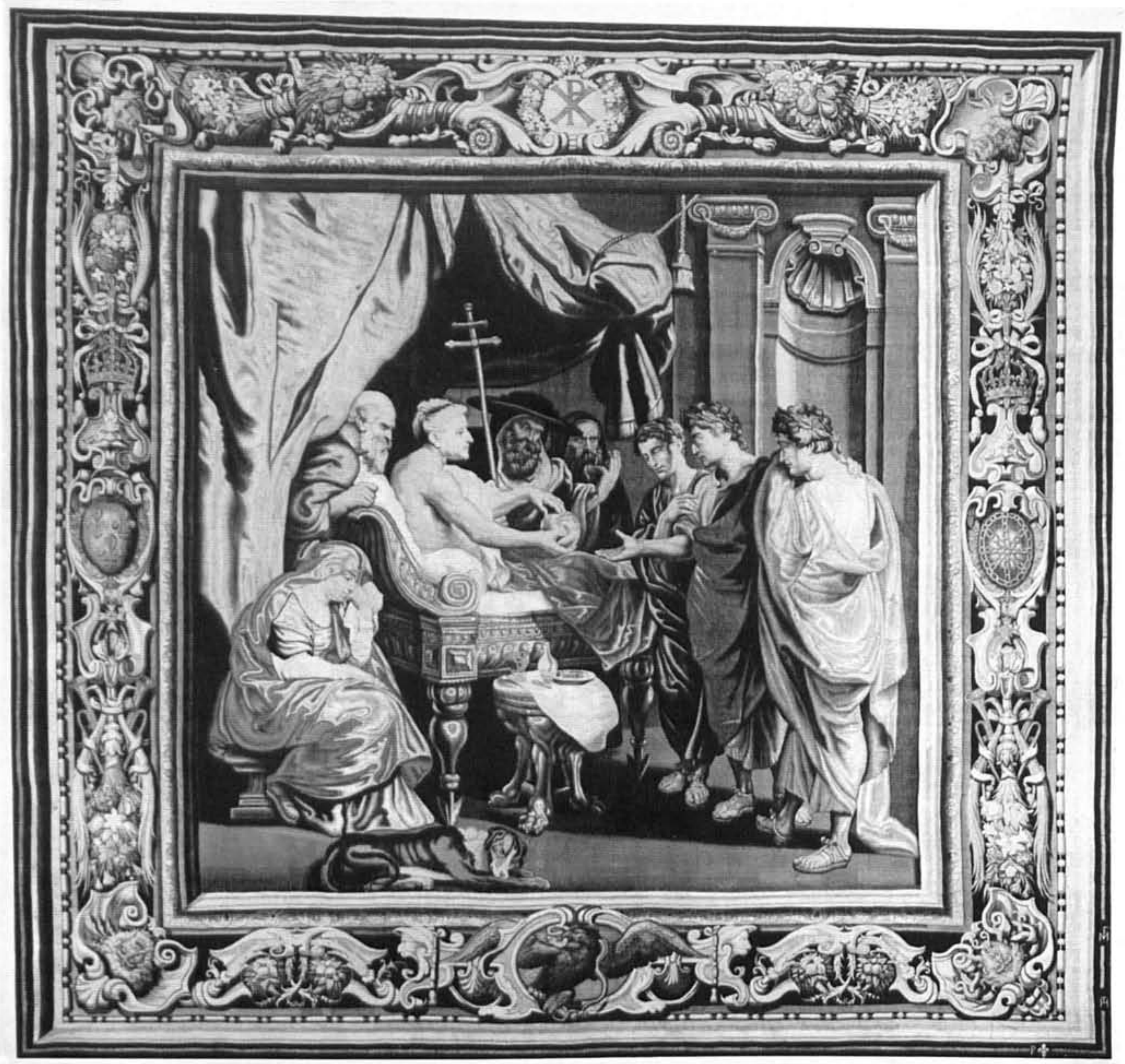


Fig. 17. The Death of Constantine (Cat.no.7)

Shop. Saint-Marcel, Paris.

Sketches and Cartoons. Rubens oil on panel sketch, Private Collection, Paris (Plate 63).

Comments. The composition of the Rubens design has been altered slightly in the tapestry by extending the space at the top and sides, but otherwise accurately reproduced. The design is based on antique funereal banquet reliefs (fig. 10) (cf. Reinach, *Répertoire de Reliefs . . .* , vol. II, pp. 43, 45, 53–1, 59–2, 412, 413, 414, 430, 432), but altered with typical Rubens drapery, the ecclesiastical figures and Constantine's sons.

Ex Coll. See entry under *The Marriage of Constantine.*

8: Plates 28-31

CONSTANTINE FIGHTING THE LION.

Completed in July 1637. 59.78.11

Measurements. Overall: height, 16 feet 5 inches; width, 9 feet 8 inches.

Center panel: height, 10 feet 9½ inches; width, 7 feet 8½ inches.

Technique. Low-warp loom. Linen warp; 18 threads per inch. Silk and wool weft with silver and gold.

Description. Center panel: To the right, the young Constantine in armor over a tunic, trousers, and high boots, and drapery billowing over his shoulder, stands with his right hand thrusting a sword into a lion's mouth and through his neck, his left hand holding the sheath. To the left, the lion rears on its hind legs. Behind Constantine and the lion, a wood fence behind which spectators stand, variously clothed, some bareheaded and in simple tunics, others in armor and helmets, holding spears and diverse military standards. In the background, a round building to the left, tents and foliage. Plants in the foreground.

Border: At the top, the central cartouche form copied from the borders used on the French tapestries with sphinxes at either side copied from those used on the larger French panels. The sphinxes here differ slightly from the French prototypes: in the hair arrangements and the color and pattern of the animal bodies. In the lower border, the central cartouche and parts of the side element used in the larger French panels. In the center, replacing the eagle in the cartouche, a laurel wreath. The side borders are lacking.

Condition. Excellent color preservation. Small area of sky near top border rewoven with new warp and weft. Few small old repairs. Much of border background replaced.

Marks. In the lower selvedge to the right: IAC.D.L.RIV.

Shop. Barberini, Rome.

Sketches and Cartoons. Cartoon, Corsini Collection, Florence (Plate 70).

Comments. The tapestry, like the Roman 'Memorials' and 'Battle' panels, closely follows the cartoon.

The borders on all of the Roman tapestries have been copied from the Comans-La Planche panels. In reproducing the ornament, the general forms are preserved, but the complex stucco-like ornamental forms which in the Paris borders function in every detail are misunderstood in the Roman panels, becoming meaningless lines in some parts. The cartouche in the upper border illustrates this misunderstanding. The forms in the cartouche in the lower border, because it is of a simpler form, are not misunderstood to the same extent.

Ex Coll. Barberini, Rome; Charles Mather Ffoulke, Washington, D.C., 1889; Mrs. Phoebe Hearst, 1896; John R. McLean; Samuel H. Kress Collection.

9: Plate 38

THE APPARITION OF THE CROSS.

Completed in February 1633. 59.78.10

Measurements. Overall: height, 16 feet 2 inches; width, 11 feet 3½ inches. Center panel: height, 11 feet 3½ inches; width, 6 feet 1½ inches.

Technique. Low-warp loom. Linen warp; 18 threads per inch. Silk and wool weft with silver and gold.

Description. Center panel: On the right, Constantine dressed in armor, over a tunic, with trousers, boots, a mantle fastened on his right shoulder, a laurel diadem on his head, stands on a low stone platform with plants at the base, looking at the cross in the sky. Behind Constantine, a bearded soldier. To the left, soldiers, one in the foreground clothed in armor over a tunic and trousers, mantle, sandals and plumed helmet, another in animal skins. In the background, soldiers carrying spears and military standards. In the background, a round building to the left and a gabled structure to the right.

Border: Copied from those used on the smaller Paris panels such as the *Building of Constantinople* without the garland near the corner. In the cartouches at the sides, in all the Roman panels except *Constantine Fighting the Lion*, a single bee with laurel branches at the sides, replacing the French coats of arms; above, replacing the crown in the French panels, a coronet.

Condition. Center panel: many of the areas have faded, others retain almost original color quality.

Border: Large areas of background replaced, good state of preservation in ornament. Border cut and sewn together at each side through the top selvedge downward, along the edge of the corner cartouche toward the center; along the outer edge of the surface decorated molding, along the corresponding edge of the lower corner cartouche through the lower selvedge; another cut across the border several inches above the lower corner cartouche.

Marks. In the lower selvedge, to the right: IAC.D.L.RIV.

Shop. Barberini, Rome.

Sketches and Cartoons. Not preserved.

Comments. The Cortona 'Apparition', like the Rubens design for the same episode is based on the antique *allocutio* relief form (fig. 8).

In the border the cartouche forms in the corners show the same misunderstanding of the forms as shown in the Italian translation of the elements in the upper and lower borders. The masks in the corners have been rearranged in the Roman borders, the two in lower corners are used alternately in diagonally opposite corners in the Italian panels. The laurel branches in the central cartouche of the lower border in this panel are designed in a different manner from those in the panel of *Constantine Fighting the Lion*.

Ex Coll. See entry under *Constantine Fighting the Lion*.

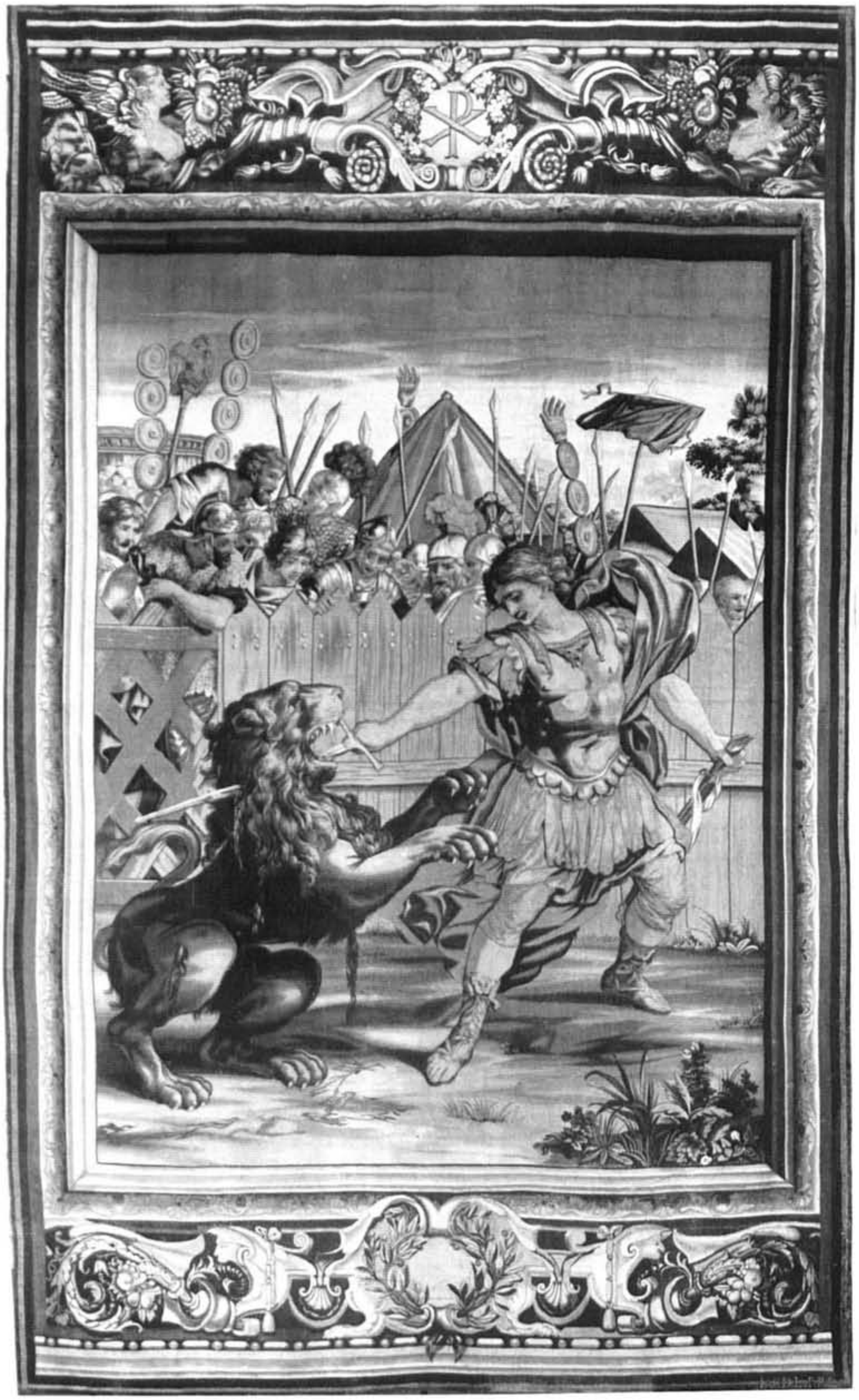


Fig. 18. Constantine Fighting the Lion (Cat.no.8)

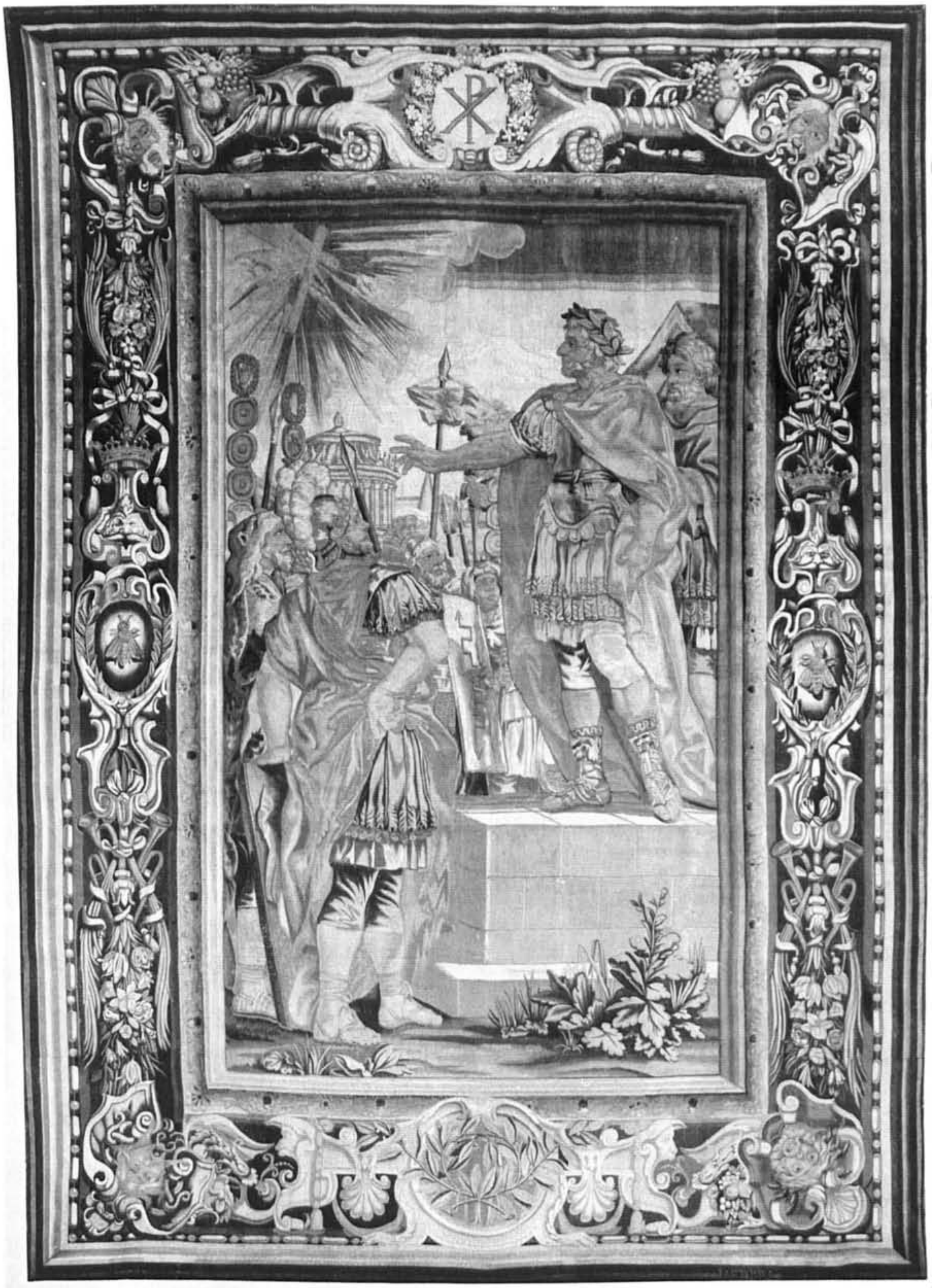


Fig. 19. The Apparition of the Cross (Cat.no.9)

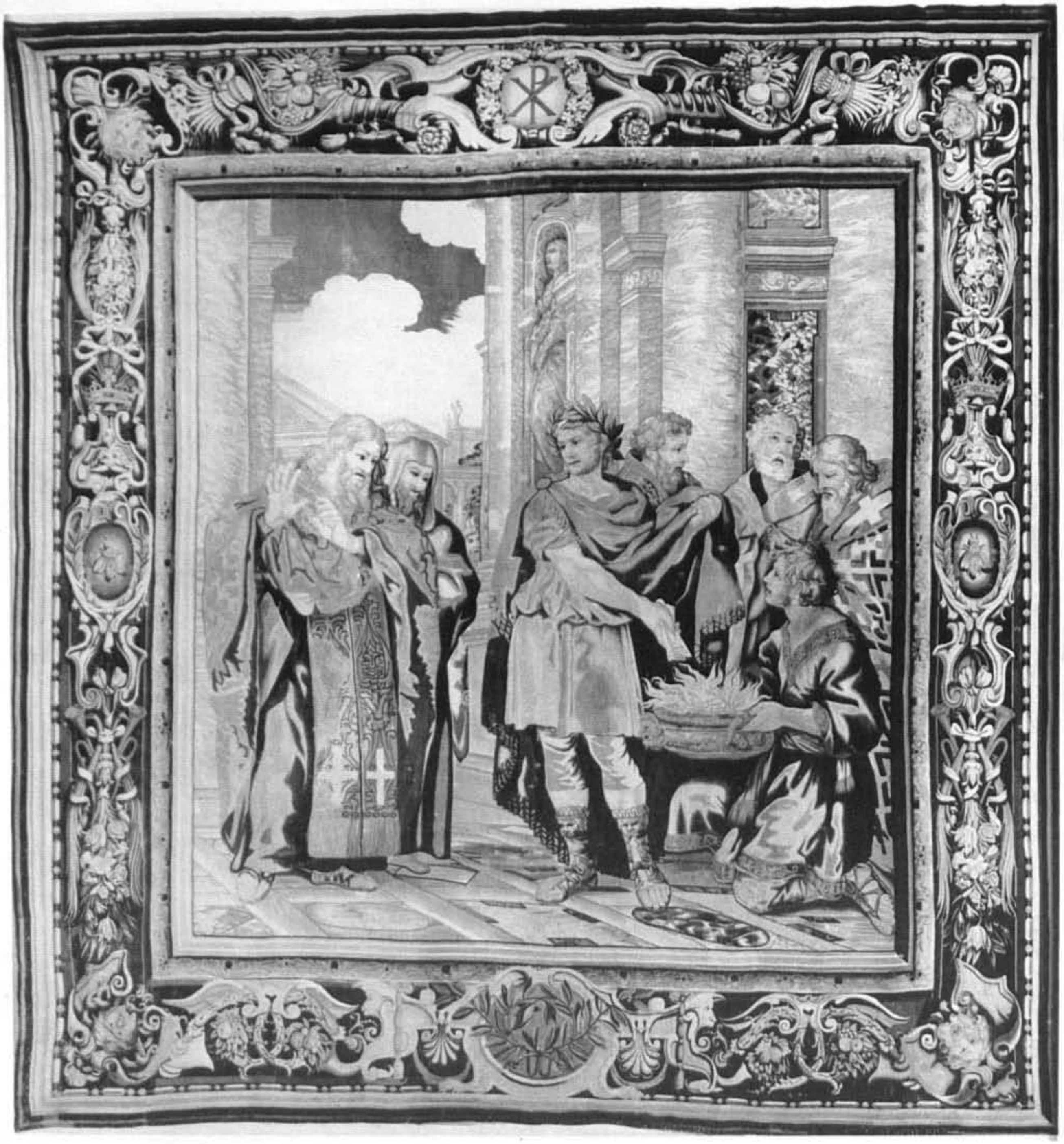


Fig. 20. Constantine Burning the Memorials (Cat.no.10)

10: Plates 32, 33

CONSTANTINE BURNING THE MEMORIALS. Completed by March 1634. 59.78.12

Measurements. Overall: height, 16 feet 4½ inches; width, 14 feet 11 inches.

Center panel: height, 14 feet 11 inches; width, 9 feet 9½ inches.

Technique. Low-warp loom. Linen warp; 18 threads per inch. Silk and wool weft with silver and gold.

Description. CENTER PANEL: In the center, Constantine stands, clothed in a tunic, trousers and a mantle fastened on his right shoulder, high boots on his feet, a laurel diadem on his head, holding a memorial over a fire in his right hand. To the right, an attendant kneels, clothed in a short garment with a patterned border at the neck and hem, trousers and sandals, holding a richly wrought brazier in which a fire burns. Behind this figure, three bearded priests in richly ornamented vestments, the two on the right, with stoles on which is figured the cross moline. To the left, two figures, one a bearded priest in vestments of rich fabrics, a patterned stole with the cross moline, the other a bearded male figure with a hooded garment. In the background, a complex of architectural forms; to the right, an ornate structure of marble with columns, molding, inlaid panels of marble, a niche with a statue; to the left, the corner of another structure; behind these, an arcade, other buildings and trees.

BORDER: Copied from those used on the smaller French panels such as the *Building of Constantinople.*

Condition. CENTER PANEL: a little fading in some areas. BORDER: large areas of background replaced, good state of color preservation in ornament. Border cut at sides and resewn as in the *Apparition of the Cross.*

Marks. In the lower selvedge, to the right: IAC.D.L.RIV.

Shop. Barberini, Rome.

Sketches and Cartoons. Cartoon, Corsini Collection, Florence (Plate 71).

Comments. The tapestry follows almost exactly the cartoon except for slight alterations of the cloud forms and the extension of the space at the top and bottom. The background structure to the right is very similar to a Cortona drawing in the Metropolitan Museum of Art; a study for an engraving in G. B. Ferrari's, *De Florum Cultura,* 1633. This rich structure is typical of Cortona's architectural decoration such as in the Gavotti Chapel, San Nicola da Tolentino.

Ex Coll. See entry under *Constantine Fighting the Lion.*

11: Plates 34, 35, 37

THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST LICINIUS, SEA BATTLE. Completed by July 1635. 59.78.9

Measurements. Overall: height, 16 feet 5½ inches; width, 23 feet 3½ inches.

Central panel: height, 10 feet 10 inches; width, 17 feet 10 inches.

Technique. Low-warp loom. Linen warp; 18 threads per inch. Silk and wool weft with gold and silver.

Description. CENTER PANEL: From the left, the imperial fleet advances. In the foreground, a male figure in a tunic in a small boat struggles with a soldier wearing armor and a plumed helmet. Rising from the sea, another helmeted soldier brandishing a sword moves toward the left. Behind this group, a large vessel with carved decoration, with soldiers dressed in various manners, some in full armor with plumed helmets, others in animal skins, holding spears and military standards, some with a cross at the top, an oarsman with a bare torso. In the background, other large vessels of the imperial fleet. To the right, the fleet of Licinius. In the foreground, a large ornate vessel with warriors in various forms of armor, and skins, one holding an elaborate eagle-topped standard, an oarsman with a bare torso. At the prow, a bearded warrior with a plumed helmet (Licinius?) turned away from Constantine's fleet. In the background, other vessels of Licinius' fleet.

BORDER: Copied from the Paris *Battle of the Milvian Bridge.*

Condition. Extensively repaired. Many areas completely replaced.

Marks. In lower selvedge, to the right: IAC.D.L.RIV.

Shop. Barberini, Rome.

Sketches and Cartoons. Cartoon, Corsini Collection, Florence (Plate 72); preliminary drawing, the Uffizi (Plate 73).

Comments. The tapestry follows, in every detail, the cartoon, which in turn closely follows the preliminary drawing in the Uffizi (Plate 73).

Ex Coll. See entry under *Constantine Fighting the Lion.*

12: Plate 39

CONSTANTINE DESTROYING THE IDOLS. Completed by May 29, 1637. 59.78.8

Measurements. Overall: height, 16 feet 4½ inches; width, 12 feet 2⅝ inches.

Center panel: height, 10 feet 7½ inches; width, 6 feet 10½ inches.

Technique. Low-warp loom. Linen warp; 18 threads per inch. Silk and wool weft with gold and silver.

Description. CENTER PANEL: To the left, Constantine stands in tunic and voluminous mantle fastened over his right shoulder, with sandals on his feet and laurel diadem on his head, directing the removal of a pagan statue which lies broken on the floor. Behind the Emperor, two bearded men and a young attendant carrying a cross. To the right, two bearded men place a statue of Christ on a pedestal. In the background, fluted columns, hanging lamps and an archway to left.

BORDER: Similar to that on the 'Apparition' with very minor differences. The disposition of the laurel in the lower cartouche like that on the 'Statue' panel.

Condition. Many losses, both silk and wool areas, particularly in architectural background. Many old repairs. Colors faded, except in border ornament. About one-half of border background replaced.

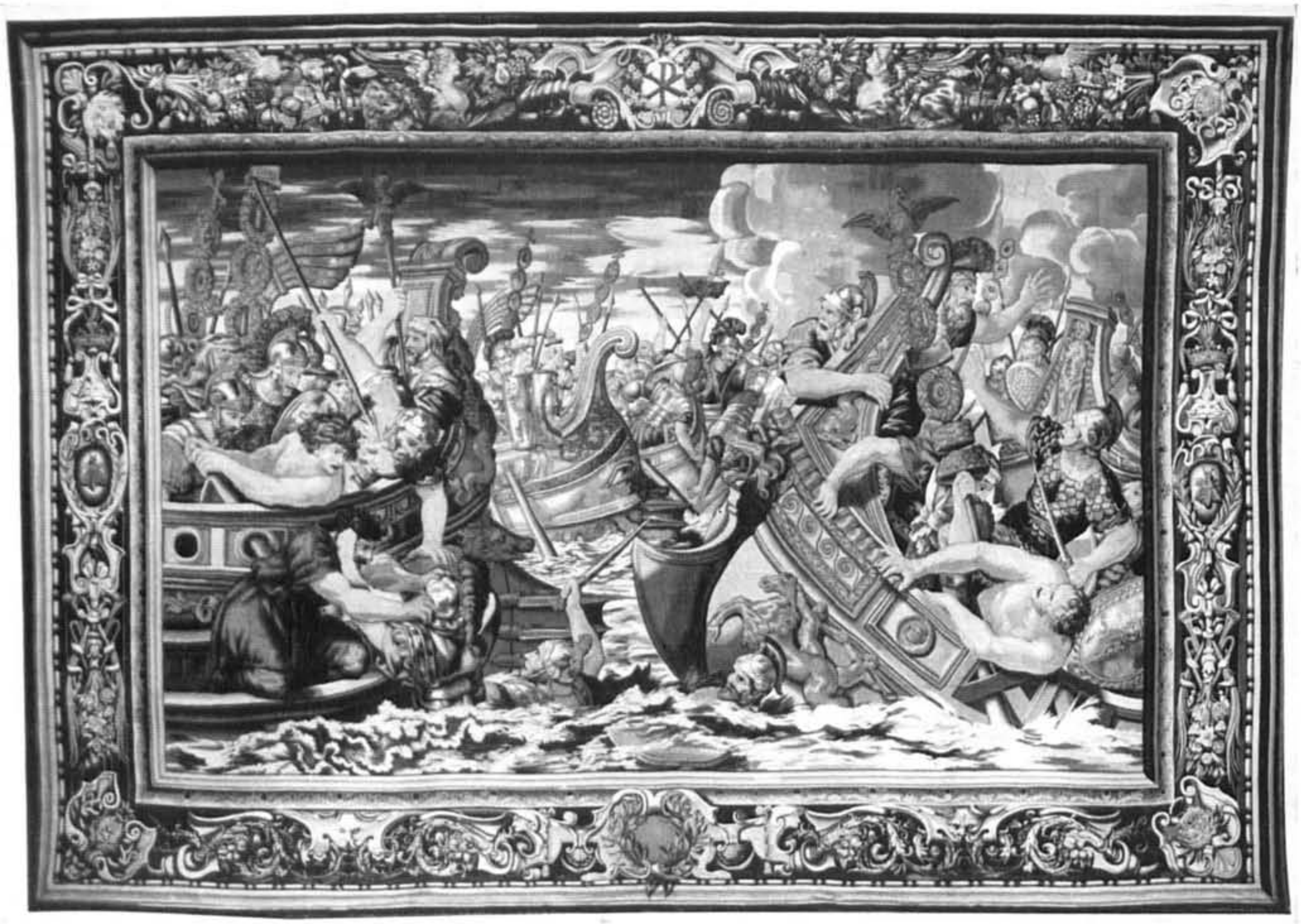


Fig. 21. The Campaign against Licinius, Sea Battle (Cat.no.11)

Marks. In the lower selvedge to the right: IAC.D.L.RIV.

Shop. Barberini, Rome.

Sketches and Cartoons. Cartoon, Corsini Collection, Florence (Plate 74).

Comments. Unlike the 'Lion', 'Memorials' and 'Battle' panels, in the weaving of this tapestry, the Cortona design has been altered. The head from the broken statue in the lower right-hand corner, and another hanging lamp not in the cartoon have been added in the tapestry. Also, changes have been made in the architecture: fluting has been added to the columns and a section of entablature has been added between the two columns in the center. The oil sketch identified by Urbano Barberini ('Pietro da Cortona e l'Arazzeria Barberini,' p. 145) with the intermediate design for the tapestry, but rejected by Giuliano Briganti (*Pietro da Cortona . . .*, p. 207) who states that it is only a copy, includes all of the additions made in the execution of the tapestry except the head. The inclusion of the additions in the oil sketch would seem to lend weight to Briganti's opinion. If the oil sketch is a copy it is difficult to explain, however, why the copyist did not include the head.

Ex Coll. See entry under *Constantine Fighting the Lion.*

13: Plate 40

THE STATUE OF CONSTANTINE. Completed in August 1636. 59.78.13

Measurements. Overall: height, 16 feet 6¾ inches; width, 11 feet 2 inches.
Center panel: height, 10 feet 7 inches; width, 5 feet 9 inches.

Technique. Low-warp loom. Linen warp; 18 threads per inch. Silk and wool weft with gold and silver.

Description. CENTER PANEL: In the center, a golden statue of Constantine stands on a pedestal, clothed in elaborately decorated armor over a tunic and trousers, with boots, and a mantle fastened over the right shoulder; on his head a laurel diadem; in his right hand, a military standard with a cross at the top; in his left hand, an orb. The pedestal, standing on a floor inlaid with marble, is inscribed: D.N.FL.

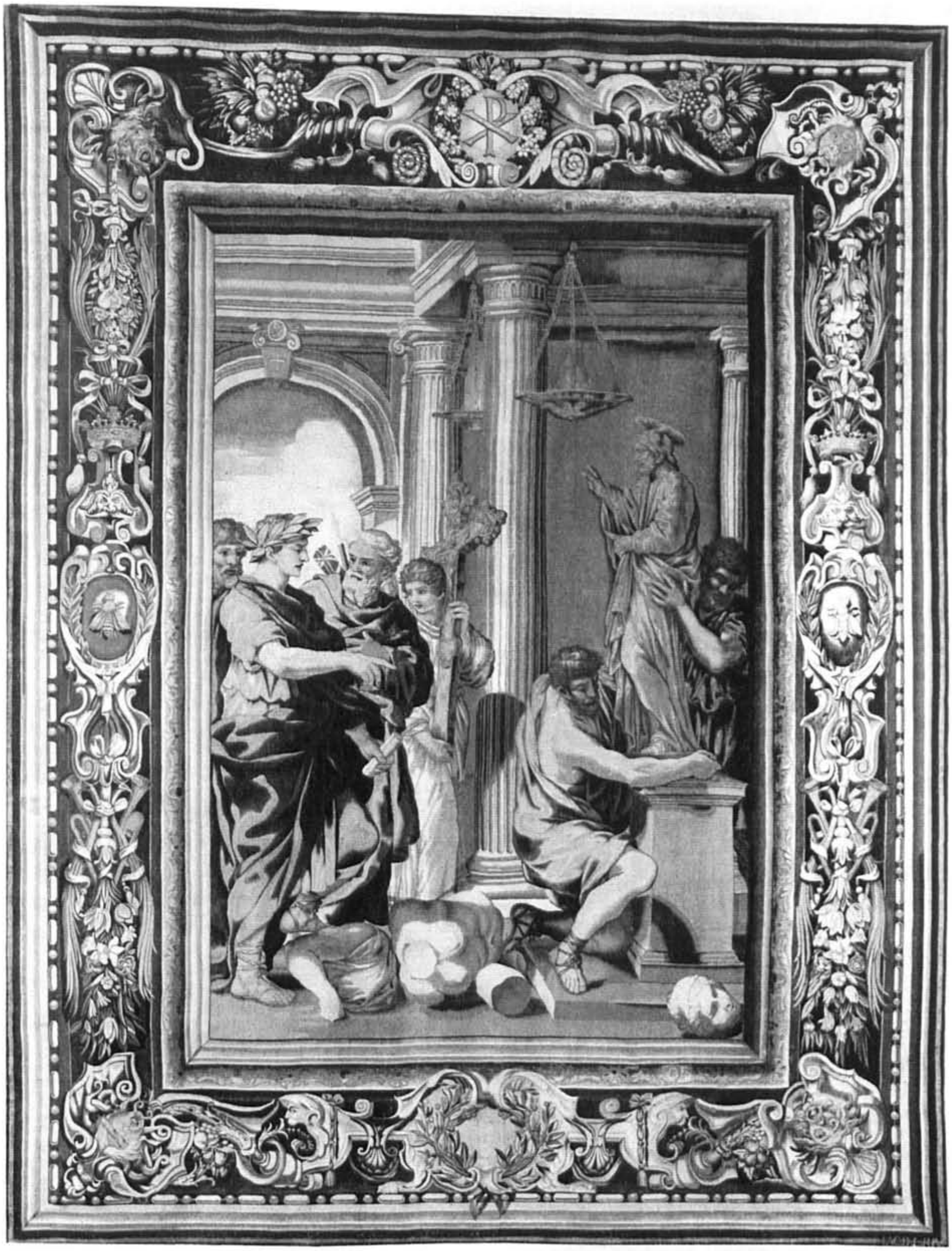


Fig. 22. Constantine Destroying the Idols (Cat.no.12)

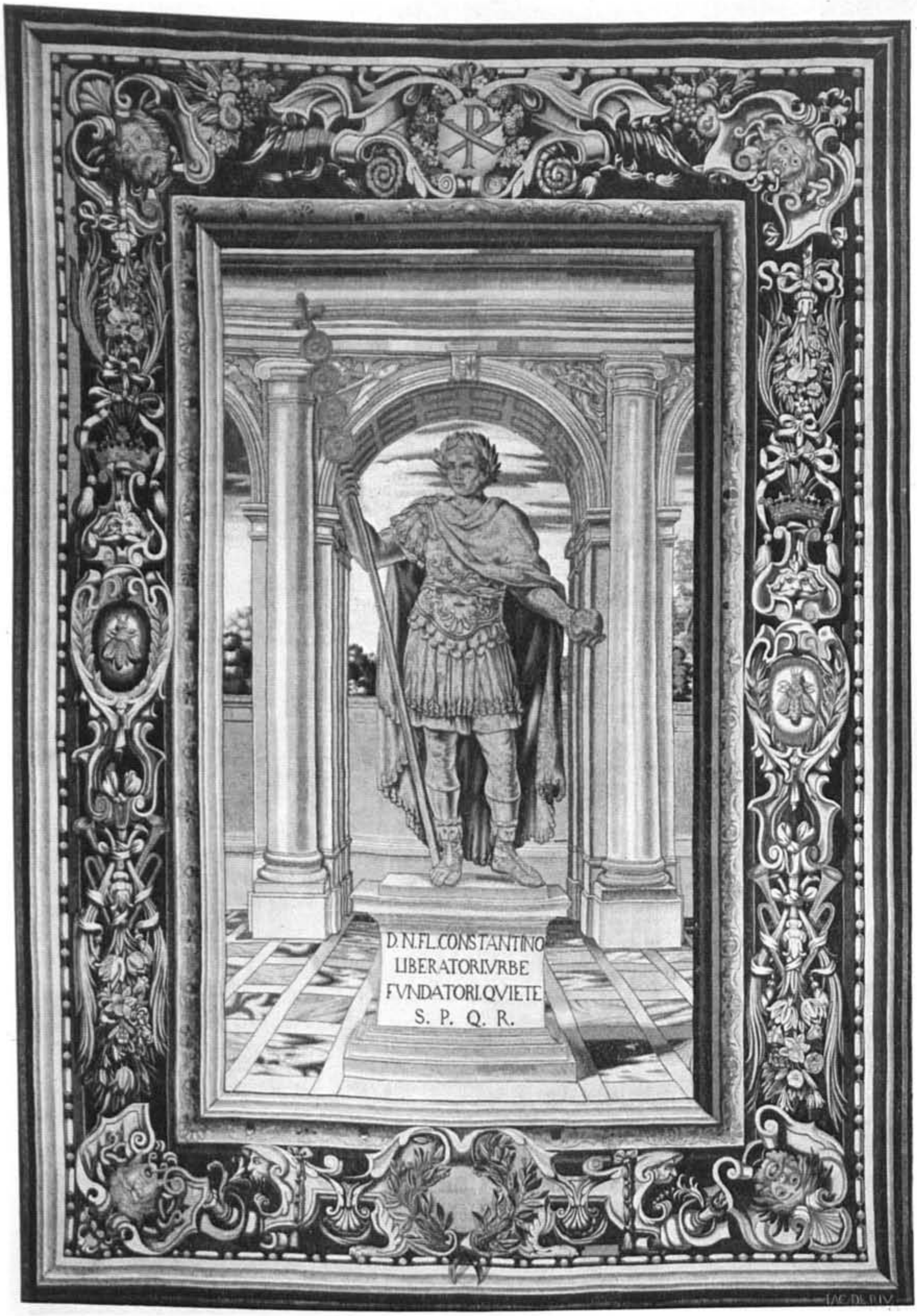

D.N.FL.CONSTANTINO
LIBERATORI.VRBE
FVNDATORI.QVIETE
S. P. Q. R.
IAC DE RIV

Fig. 23. The Statue of Constantine (Cat.no.13)

CONSTANTINO / LIBERATORI.VRBE / FVNDATORI. QVIETE / S.P.Q.R. – 'Our Ruler, Flavius Constantine, Liberator of Rome, Founder of Peace, The Senate and People of Rome.' Behind the statue, a round-headed arch with sections of two similar openings at either side, between the openings, Ionic columns, support the entablature, winged victories in the spandrels. Behind the openings, a low parapet, trees beyond.

BORDER: Identical to that on the 'Apparition'.

Condition. Extensively repaired. Entire inscription panel replaced, based on legible, but deteriorated, original inscription. Many other areas completely replaced. Color well preserved in original areas.

Marks. In the lower selvedge to the right: IAC.D.L.RIV. (repaired).

Shop. Barberini, Rome.

Sketches and Cartoons. Cartoon not preserved. A pen and wash drawing (Plate 75) sold at auction in New York (V. Winthrop Newman Sale, American Art Galleries, May 8, 1923, no. 110) is related to this panel. Present location of this drawing not known.

Comments. The drawing in the Newman sale and the tapestry vary; the balustrade in the tapestry is replaced by a temple in the background of the drawing and the victories in the spandrels and the inscription are lacking in the drawing. The finished quality of the drawing is unlike the 'Battle' drawing in the Uffizi in which the spontaneity of a preliminary drawing is apparent.

Ex Coll. Barberini, Rome; Corsini, 1907; Samuel H. Kress Collection.

* * *

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

TAPESTRY WEAVING IN FRANCE AND THE SAINT-MARCEL SHOP

In the creation of *La manufacture royale des meubles de la Couronne* by Louis XIV and his minister Colbert in 1662, artistic authority was consolidated under the crown just as governmental authority had been consolidated. This measure greatly facilitated the growth of the decorative arts in France, which culminated in the rich development of the eighteenth century. The tapestry shop at the Gobelins was the acknowledged leader in its field as were the other shops which formed part of the larger structure. There was nothing basically new, however, in the organization of either the entire complex or of the individual shops of which it was composed: its roots go back to the sixteenth century. The Saint-Marcel shop stands at mid-point in the evolution from the medieval conceptions of tapestry production, with the Kress-Barberini Constantine tapestries the most distinguished production of the atelier. Because the Saint-Marcel shop is an important step in the evolution of tapestry weaving in France, the developments before its formation as well as those following it must be considered in order to evaluate clearly the importance of the shop.

France was the first great center of tapestry production in Europe in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but by the beginning of the sixteenth century, Flanders became the leader in the art, with highly organized commercial establishments. The Renaissance style had standardized the taste. Flanders was able to satisfy this taste and shipped tapestries all over Europe. This semi-industrialized manufacture of art objects had begun in the fifteenth century, but attained its greatest volume in the sixteenth century. Until the middle of the sixteenth century in France there was little change in the manner in which tapestries were produced. The client, if he was dealing with an established shop, selected his tapestry from a stock at the weaver's atelier or designs were made by the order of the head of the tapestry shop for the noble or churchman placing the order. However, many of the tapestries were not made in shops, but woven by itinerant bands of workmen who set up shop at the castle or church building for the duration of the undertaking.

The tapestries produced in Paris in the sixteenth century, except for those produced in official shops, were not of great importance.[1] With a few exceptions they were small pieces: those of a religious character such as antependiums and choir stall hangings and secular pieces such as horse trappings and bed hangings.

Typical of the larger and more stable shops was that of Girard Laurens and Guillaume Torcheux.[2] Among their early work was an armorial series ordered in 1536, the design of which consisted of an F and salamanders (the initial and emblem of Francis I) and crowns, on a field of yellow fleurs-de-lis with a blue ground. Apparently the two weavers only worked in partnership when the work was extensive because Torcheux alone undertook the execution of a rich gold and silver-worked series in 1546. However, when it became necessary to expedite the fabrication of eighteen horse covers in 1546, they worked with another weaver. Again, a year later, Laurens executed nine of these *couvertures* and in 1551 eight more were woven by the two workers. The shop did not wholly confine itself to these various animal covers; in 1542 and 1556 two larger series were woven.

Apparently this atelier as well as the other Paris shops did not look further for designs for these various covers – the same sort of thing seems to have been repeated many times. Even in a large *tenture* executed late in the century (1585) for the duchy of Brittany, the design followed the tradition, including many designs of the heraldic repertory relating to the rulers of France and Brittany: devices, initials and coats of arms.[3]

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[1] These general comments about the early Paris shops are from Göbel, Heinrich, *Wandteppiche*, part II, vol. I, pp. 26 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 28–29.

[3] Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 32–33, for description.

Small religious pieces continued to be manufactured throughout the sixteenth century, sometimes in the medieval tradition of workers establishing their shop in the house or religious building of their patron. Thus, in the first decade of the century the weaver Allardin de Souyn established his atelier in the Paris house of the Archbishop of Sens where he produced two altar hangings. Later in the century, Girard Laurens, of the Laurens-Torcheux enterprise, executed two church hangings, one an antependium, in 1542 and 1556.[4]

Although these decorative and smaller religious pieces seem to have made up a large part of the work executed by the Paris weavers during the sixteenth century, a few larger series were executed. In 1541–1542 a series of six panels was woven for the Sainte Chapelle, Dijon.[5] One of the most important sets woven in Paris was that designed by Jean Cousin in 1543 for the Cardinal de Givry. The series of eight panels illustrates in the Renaissance style the life of Saint Mammès. In the same decade Cousin designed a set illustrating episodes in the life of Sainte Genevieve.[6] The Saint Mammès series is important not only because of the introduction of the new style and the high quality of the work, but also because the design of the tapestries was entrusted to an artist of some repute. The execution of the series, however, followed the pattern of loose organization of the Paris weavers, being entrusted to two workers, Pierre Blacé and Jacques Langois, who formed an alliance for this commission. After completing this series, Blacé and Langois engaged individually in the production of various small decorative pieces.

A few other panels of figural work and a few series were executed: in 1578 one panel was woven illustrating Augustus and the Tiburtinian Sibyl and a few years later two pieces with episodes from the life of St. Christopher were woven.[7] Many Paris panels borrowed subject matter from the Brussels shops as in this Augustus panel and a contemporary series of the Planets.

Outside of Paris many tapestries were woven during the sixteenth century. There was even less stable organization in the other areas with a great many panels being woven by itinerant workers.

One of the centers was that of the Marche factories of Felletin and Aubusson.[8] The chief production of the former was verdures – many sixteenth-century inventories describe panels as: '*tapisserie de Felletin à feuillage*.' Only rarely were figural sets produced. There was a close connection between Felletin and Aubusson. Weavers entered into temporary partnerships with each other and some entrepreneurs owned shops in both towns. The production of the Aubusson looms was also predominantly that of verdures, with figural series rarely woven. The subjects of the latter were all of a religious nature, episodes from lives of the Saints for the most part – the new Renaissance subject matter seems not to have been adopted.

The other center for tapestry production outside of Paris was that of Tours and the Touraine region. While the Marche ateliers concerned themselves principally with smaller decorative pieces, the Touraine region, closely associated with the Court, produced larger figural tapestries. The Cardinal Georges d'Amboise whose château, Gaillon, is often cited as the first monument in the new Renaissance style in France, had seven large figural sets of Touraine tapestries at his château, other sets from the same shops at his Rouen residence and decorative room hangings from Paris.[9]

In the 1520's, Philibert Babou, minister of finance under Francis I, established an atelier at Tours which not only included tapestry weavers, but also painters, sculptors, engravers and goldworkers.[10] Although little is

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 28.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

[8] These general comments about the Marche factories have been taken from Göbel, *op. cit.*, Felletin, pp. 235–243, Aubusson, pp. 244–257.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 263.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 263–264 and: Grandmaison, Charles de, 'La Tapisserie à Tours en 1520', in: *Réunion des Sociétés des Beaux-Arts*, 1888, pp. 235–237.

known of the atelier, this assemblage of the arts in one atelier must be regarded as being the first of several steps in France toward the organization of the Gobelins by Louis XIV, 140 years later, where all of the arts were grouped together under a single director.

Two of the weavers in this atelier, Pasquier and Nicolas de Mortaigne, executed for the *sacre* of Francis I a panel in which figured '*une Léda, avec certaines nymphes et satyrs*'.[11] This same shop, later operated by a son-in-law, produced two series of the life of St. Peter, decorative verdures and a table cover. Another shop later in the century executed an armorial series[12] of the type described so often in connection with the Paris looms. In general, the Tours shops executed work of much higher quality than that of the Marche shops.

Although French tapestry weaving was concentrated in Paris, the Marche shops and Touraine, tapestries were produced in other areas such as Troyes, Limoges, Orléans, Bourges, Toulouse and Nancy; most of the work from these areas, however, did not stem from organized shops.

The close association of the crown with the manufacture of tapestries in sixteenth-century France began in the reign of Francis I in the factory in his château of Fontainebleau.[13] The atelier at the château originated in 1535 with the appointment of Philibert Babou, who had earlier organized the Tours shop, as superintendent of the new undertaking. The workers were recruited from Flanders and Paris. A few of the workers can be traced by other documents, such as Pierre Blacé, who was the son of one of the weavers who executed the Saint Mammès set. For the most part, however, the origin of the workers is not known, although the high technical quality of the work would presuppose a number of Flemish workers. From the 1540's we have the series of six panels now in Vienna which reproduce the decorations of Rosso in the Gallery of Francis I at the château. The tapestries reproduce not only the paintings in the center, but also the surrounding three-dimensional decorations – and forcing the medium yet further, the surrounding wood moldings and, in perspective, the ceiling beams.

Among the other tapestries which are often attributed with probability to the Fontainebleau looms is a set made for Diane de Poitiers, the mistress of Henry II. A few other panels are sometimes attributed to the Fontainebleau shop or perhaps one of the small Paris shops. These are mostly decorative tapestries of a central medallion surrounded with grotesque decoration. Whether from the looms of Paris or Fontainebleau, their importance lies in their anticipation of the style of Bérain in the late seventeenth century and Boucher in the following century.

The production of the Fontainebleau shop was a private enterprise with the products destined for the use of the King. It was in accord with – but an extension of – the medieval practice of establishing a shop in a church or château in order to carry out a specific commission, only on a larger scale. Although the atelier remained active through the reign of Henry II (1547–1559), Francis' successor had his own plans for tapestry manufacture.

Henry established an atelier for the weaving of tapestries in the Hospital of the Trinité in Paris in 1551.[14] Tapestry weaving and other crafts were introduced as at Tours in order to train the orphans housed there. To ensure its success, the King granted the weavers extensive privileges which so antagonized the Paris craftsmen that the King had to take the master weavers into protective custody in 1556. One of the weavers, Maurice Dubout, who had perhaps been an apprentice at the hospital and was still living there, was commissioned in 1584 to weave a large set of The *Life of Our Lord* for the Church of St. Merri. There are several sets of sixteenth century tapestries of unknown manufacture which might have been woven at the Trinité shop. Of the place of manufacture of one of the most popular sets, Artemisia, which extolled Catherine de' Medici and her widowhood, and of the story of Gombaut and Macée, nothing definite is known, but they may well have been woven at the Trinité atelier in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. The shop was in existence in the early part of the seventeenth century. Around 1635 it executed the set with episodes from the lives of Saint Crispin and Saint Crispinian, but subsequent to this set, we know nothing of its activities. Like the other shops, the Trinité probably wove tapestries from old cartoons or pieces based on designs woven in other shops.

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[11] Göbel, *op. cit.*, p. 264 and Fenaille, Maurice, *État général des tapisseries de la manufacture des Gobelins depuis son origine jusqu'a nos jours*, vol. I, p. 89, note 1.

[12] Göbel, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

[13] For the Fontainebleau factory cf. *ibid.*, pp. 37–46 and Fenaille, *op. cit.*, pp. 89–102.

[14] For the Trinité shop cf.: Göbel, *op. cit.*, pp. 48–51, Guiffrey, Jules, 'Les manufactures parisiennes au XVII^{e} siècle', in: *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile de France*, 1892, pp. 45–52, and Guiffrey, Jules, 'Notes et documents sur les origines de la manufacture des Gobelins . . . ', in: Fenaille, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 14–15, to be referred to hereafter as: Guiffrey, in Fenaille. Cf. Fenaille, *op. cit.*, pp. 103 ff. for the various series.

Henry IV was responsible for four separate enterprises of tapestry manufacture. The earliest of these ventures was the attempt in 1583, six years before he ascended the throne, to found an atelier in his territory in Béarne using Flemish workers,[15] but owing to the unfavorable conditions of the times, this project was not carried through. It was nearly two decades later that Henry was able to carry a like project through successfully in the Saint-Marcel shop.

As King, Henry's first venture was the establishment in 1597 of an atelier in an old house of retreat of the Jesuits where Maurice Dubout and Gerard Laurent worked until 1608.[16] Either in this shop or in the Trinité shop a *tenture* of eight pieces of The *Life of Saint Vincent* was woven.

In 1608 Dubout and Laurent headed the new shop formed by Henry IV in the Galleries of the Louvre[17] near the atelier of Pierre DuPont, who introduced '*tapis à la façon du Levant*' and founded the Savonnerie factory. Although the workers were granted many important privileges by the crown, free lodging, exemptions from taxes, pensions, maintenance of apprentices, the shop did not work only for the King, but also sold work as a private atelier.

The problem of assigning tapestries to specific shops in the seventeenth century is more complex than in the previous century because the production increased and because tapestries of the same design were often woven in several shops. Magnifying the problem was the practice of weaving tapestries from sixteenth-century designs, sometimes with old border designs and sometimes with newly designed borders.

Very little is known of the early activity of the Louvre shop; probably it produced a great many tapestries on old cartoons, such as the story of Gombaut and Macée and the Artemisia series, the latter now referring to Marie de' Medici, and the Diana series of Toussaint Dubreuil. These designs were also woven by other shops; the 1627 inventory of the Saint-Marcel shop[18] lists a number of these sets. It is not until 1627 when Simon Vouet was called from Italy by Louis XIII that the tapestries from this shop seem to have attained great importance. The date of 1627 is in itself not without importance because it was the year after the death of François de La Planche, who had been co-director of the Saint-Marcel shop. During these few years the pre-eminent position of the Saint-Marcel shop passed to the Louvre. Certainly, the Saint-Marcel shop after the death of La Planche was not entrusted with the weaving of tapestries of the importance of those entrusted to the Louvre shop. Several sets of tapestries were executed after designs by Vouet in the Louvre shop, but with the exception of the Old Testament series, the tapestries reproduced wall decorations designed by Vouet – a practice reminiscent of the Fontainebleau tapestries. Another set from the Louvre shop in the later period – the contract was executed in 1645 – was that of Saint Gervais and Saint Protais from cartoons by Philippe de Champaigne, Eustache le Sueur, Sébastien Bourdon and Thomas Goussé. A short time later an exact copy of a Brussels series was executed. In 1657 the shop was attached to the *Académie de peinture* and in 1662 the workers were assimilated into the new Gobelins factory.

In the first years of the seventeenth century two Flemings, Marc de Comans and François de La Planche, were brought to Paris by Henry IV in order to establish the manufacture of tapestries in France on a more stable basis and on a larger scale than private patronage would permit. The weavers were settled in an atelier in the Faubourg Saint-Marcel.[19] Of the four projects initiated by the King that of the Comans-La Planche shop appears to have been the most successful. It is not possible, however, to offer conclusive evidence in this respect because we know a great deal more about the Saint-Marcel shop than the other shops, owing to an inventory drawn up in 1627 on the death of François de La Planche and to the practice of signing the tapestries with the weaver's monogram. The documentation of the other shops is fragmentary and confusing and the tapestries are only rarely signed with the weaver's monogram.

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[15] Göbel, *op. cit.*, p. 147, Guiffrey, 'Les manufactures parisiennes . . . ', p. 52, Guiffrey, in Fenaille, p. 1.

[16] Göbel, *op. cit.*, pp. 49–50, Guiffrey, 'Les manufactures parisiennes . . . ', p. 53, Guiffrey, in Fenaille, p. 1.

[17] Göbel, *op. cit.*, pp. 52–57, Guiffrey, 'Les manufactures parisiennes . . . ', pp. 114–169, Guiffrey, in Fenaille, pp. 17–18.

[18] Published in Guiffrey, in Fenaille, pp. 37–56.

The initial step toward the founding of the Saint-Marcel shop was taken in the last year of the sixteenth century. Henry IV in two documents, one of January 4, 1599, and amplified in another of January 12, 1601, directs the superintendent, Fourcy, to bring professional tapestry workers from Flanders.[20] In the earlier directive the King states his wish to re-establish in his kingdom the manufacture of tapestries and recalls that he had brought *tapissiers* to work in the retreat house of the Jesuits in Paris. In the new undertaking, Fourcy is instructed to direct and make payments for all that which is necessary for the manufacture of tapestries, such as the selection of capable people and making payment for the threads. Henry goes on to explain that, because of his experience, the '*Sieur de Fourcy*' is charged with all that concerns this work; importantly, this document states that all expenses are to be paid by the *tresoriers des Batimens*. The second document, two years later, when the two workers are in Paris, also directed to Fourcy, is a restatement and amplification of the earlier *brevet*. Although not mentioned by name, Comans and La Planche can be counted as among the workers because just seventeen days later, January 29, a contract of association between the two weavers and Hierosme de Comans was executed.[21] Another *tapissier*, François Verrier, was brought to France about the same time to help recruit workers for the new project, but did not remain.[22] After these initial steps of organization, practical measures for establishment of the atelier were swiftly executed during the years of 1601–1607.

The weavers were first installed in temporary quarters on the Rue des Tournelles, but on June 24, 1601, Fourcy signed a lease for the buildings in the Faubourg Saint-Marcel in which the atelier was to be established[23] – the site of the factory established by Louis XIV in 1662 and today the Gobelins Museum.

Since the fifteenth century dyers had been established in the Faubourg Saint-Marcel, along the east bank of the Bièvre River, which is now enclosed and called the Ruelle des Gobelins. Jean Gobelins established a dyers' shop in the middle of the fifteenth century and through acquiring adjoining properties owned in the sixteenth century all but one parcel on the south side of the Rue de Bièvre, now the Rue des Gobelins. Along the river the properties on either side of the Gobelins also belonged to dyers, on the north extending into what is now the Boulevard Arago, to the Canaye family and to the south, to the Le Peultre family, separated from the Gobelins property by an alley on the north, now closed. The property was bounded on the west by the river, on the east by Rue Mouffetard, now the Avenue des Gobelins, and on the south by the Rue Croulebarbe.

In the middle of the sixteenth century the Le Peultre property was acquired by the Canaye, but being Huguenots, they were drawn into the misfortunes of the religious wars and forced to sell their establishment in 1571 to Jean Gobelins the younger. The latter only held possession of the *Maison des Canaye* for two years, selling the establishment to Michel Charpentier, a cloth merchant. It was this property which Fourcy acquired from the Charpentier heirs in 1601. Although in the possession of the Gobelins family for only a short time, the name had

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19. For the Saint-Marcel shop cf.: Göbel, *op. cit.*, pp. 58–84, Guiffrey, 'Les manufactures parisiennes . . . ', pp. 114–169, Guiffrey, in Fenaille, pp. 2–14, Guiffrey, Jules, *Histoire de la tapisserie depuis le moyen age jusqu'a nos jours*, pp. 294–298.

20. The documents are published in Guiffrey, in Fenaille, pp. 31–32.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

22. Cimber and Danjou, *Archives curieuses*, ser. I, vol. XV, 1837, pp. 195–196.

23. The following comments on the buildings are from: Guiffrey, Jules, 'Notices sur l'emplacement des anciennes teintureries du bourg Saint-Marcel. . . ', in Fenaille, *op. cit.*, pp. 73–88. The document of June 24, 1601 is published by Guiffrey, pp. 80–82.

been used popularly to designate the Le Peultre-Canaye property and has been perpetuated by the official designation given to the Louis XIV undertaking – *Manufacture des Gobelins.*

In the period from 1601–1627 buildings were acquired adjacent to the original group. In 1608 additions were constructed for workrooms and lodging for workers, '*tant Francoys que Flamens*'.[24] Two other buildings were acquired in 1609, one in 1616 and another in 1619.[25] In 1625, two shops were opened by Comans and La Planche in Paris to sell tapestries, one on the Rue Saint-Martin, the other on the Rue Quincampoix.

The shop, although in production soon after the acquisition of the Le Peultre-Canaye property, was not formally created by the crown until an *édit de création* of January 1607.[26] In the intervening years, however, measures were being taken in order to ensure the success of the new venture. On September 11, 1601, a decree was issued forbidding the importation of tapestries from other countries.[27] This act had cause to be enforced by the Paris customs four years later when the Comtesse de Sault brought forty-six tapestries from Flanders. The concessions granted to the weavers in the 1607 decree were unprecedented and completely ignore the guild organization. The directors are raised to the rank of nobility, thereby obtaining all of the exemptions granted to persons of this status. The concessions and subsidies were made to the shop in order to enable it to become established as a sound business venture. Comans and La Planche are to have a monopoly on the fabrication and sale of tapestries in Paris and in other cities where they had established shops. The repetition of the 1601 import restrictions reinforces this monopoly. The directors are to live rent free, pay no income taxes nor taxes on wool and silk. The shop is to receive an initial grant of 100,000 livres with a yearly stipend of 1,500 livres. The workers are to be made French citizens and receive diplomatic protection in foreign countries. Recognizing the importance of training apprentices the document includes generous concessions to this end, including lodging provided by the state. The number of apprentices is regulated at twenty-five the first year and twenty for each of the two following years. In return, Comans and La Planche are obliged only to maintain eighty looms in operation, sixty in Paris and twenty in Amiens or another filial shop, and to sell their tapestries for no more than those formerly imported from Flanders.

A storm of protests was quickly raised against the granting of these privileges[28] in which it was stated that the product of the high-warp loom which was formerly used in Paris is *beaucoup plus précieuse et meilleure* than the low-warp loom introduced by the strangers.[29] Of all the adversaries in the *Parlement* and the *Bureau de la Ville de Paris* and the protests addressed to the King, the only result was the ruling that a fleur-de-lis preceded by the letter P be woven into tapestries fabricated in Paris. The difficulties were increased during the first years of the shop owing to the irregular discharge of the agreed payments to the atelier. This was due to a great extent to the lack of sympathy with which the Minister Sully viewed the King's interest in expanding industry. Comans and La Planche submitted numerous petitions to the King and in turn Henry IV wrote to Sully in behalf of the directors.

François de La Planche (Franz van den Planken) was born in the Flemish tapestry center of Audenarde, March 10, 1573.[30] Very little is known of his background – no records have come to light to indicate whether he came from a weaving family. He did have some pretensions to the nobility, calling himself *seigneur* of several small fiefs near Audenarde in several documents.

Marc de Comans (Marco Commans) was born in Antwerp in 1563, and like La Planche does not seem to have come from a leading family of tapestry workers.

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24. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
25. Guiffrey, in Fenaille, pp. 35–36.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 33–34.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
28. Göbel, *op. cit.*, p. 58, Guiffrey, in Fenaille, p. 5, Guiffrey, 'Les manufactures parisiennes . . . ', pp. 74 f.
29. Although Göbel and Guiffrey quote the French text of the document in the above, neither cites the source.
30. Göbel, *op. cit.*, p. 59, Guiffrey, in Fenaille, p. 2.

The reasons for the choice of these men to head the new shop remain obscure. They, of course, may have had experience in the manufacture of tapestries, but from the indications of their diverse business activities, it appears that they might have been chosen for their experience in areas other than tapestry manufacturing. A year after their arrival in France, each of the directors established a brewery – Comans on the Canaye property and La Planche in the temporary buildings on the Rue des Tournelles,[31] both of which operated at least until 1617.[32] The directors also ventured into the soapmaking industry.[33] In 1607 an association was formed with a *maître savonnier* for the formation of factories in Paris, Rouen, Nantes and other cities. The one in Paris was operated in buildings at Chaillot. Two years later the association was terminated, the buildings and equipment sold. These buildings, today the site of the *Palais de Chaillot,* became several years later the *Manufacture royale de tapis, façon de turquie, de la Savonnerie.*

The business activities of Comans and La Planche were not only concerned with manufacturing. From 1607 to 1626 there are numerous documents relating to the drainage of swamps at Tonnay-Charente[34] and one strange document of August 30, 1608, dealing with a project for draining the swamp in the 'sea of Holland'.[35] Yet another project of the partners is concerned with the importation of wheat from Malta.[36] The operation, initiated in 1607 and remaining active at least until 1622, was perhaps related to the breweries which continued in operation.[37]

The theory has been advanced that these other enterprises were undertaken in order to subsidize the tapestry factory.[38] The factory seems to have been successful, however, with the consequent need for expansion. Many neighboring properties were acquired in the Saint-Marcel area during the 1606–1627 period.[39] Also, the breweries were started in 1601, the other ventures all in 1607, the year of the formal foundation of the shop, certainly too early for any indication of the success of the tapestry factory. The more plausible theory would seem to be that Comans and La Planche, although engaged by Henry IV to manage the tapestry shop, were chosen because of their general business ability rather than their experience with tapestry weaving – the lack of any information about their tapestry background reinforces this view. The other activities then are simply the logical result of their interests as entrepreneurs.

The Le Peultre-Canaye building complex other than the brewery, the living quarters of the directors and the dyeing shop, was given over to smaller ateliers where the tapestries were woven. There were ten of these *boutiques,* each presided over by a master weaver, the two largest with several rooms. Of these, the most important was the *boutique d' or* of Hans Taye (where the Constantine tapestries were woven) which had thirteen looms in operation, eight in a ground floor room beside the chamber of the master. On the floor above were two rooms, one with four looms, the other with one.[40] In the next *boutique,* as itemized in the 1627 inventory, that of Lucas Wandandalle, there were more looms – fifteen – but they are evaluated at a much lower figure than those of the *boutique d'or.* The largest of the remaining eight shops contained ten looms; the smallest, one. The latter was the only high-warp loom in the factory.

The production of the shop can be fairly well calculated by means of the 1627 inventory. The tapestries which were in the storerooms and on the looms are itemized as are the number of looms in each *boutique*. The production can be further evaluated by means of the practice of signing tapestries with the monogram of the *maître tapissier* of the *boutique*. This practice also distinguishes the work of the Saint-Marcel shop from that of other shops.

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[31] Guiffrey, in Fenaille, p. 32.

[32] In the inventory of the Saint-Marcel shop there is an account of this shop ending in 1617 (*ibid.,* p. 51).

[33] *Ibid.,* pp. 35, 51.

[34] *Ibid.,* pp. 6, 49–50.

[35] *Ibid.,* p. 6.

[36] *Ibid.,* pp. 6, 50.

[37] In the 1627 inventory, an account of the *Société de Malte* is listed, ending in 1622 (*ibid.,* p. 50). Another account in the inventory is that of the breweries, ending in 1617 (*ibid.,* p. 50).

[38] By Guiffrey in *ibid.,* p. 6.

[39] *Ibid.,* pp. 35–36.

[40] *Ibid.,* p. 47. The *boutiques* are itemized in the 1627 inventory with the number of looms in each room.

The tapestries are inventoried in three groups: those in two storerooms and those in the *boutiques*.[41] Of the two storerooms, the series in the storeroom of the '*hostel des Canayes*' are valued the highest: one nine-panel set, one twelve-panel set and a single panel of the *History of Constantine*; one twenty-one panel set of the Artemisia series, all woven with gold and silver, two Pastor Fido eight-panel sets, one with *un peu d'or*, an eight-panel set of the *Hunts of Francis I* and one six-panel set of the Toussaint Dubreuil Diana series.

In the larger storeroom, the *magasin des tapisseryes*, the less costly panels are stored – those of all wool or wool and silk.[42] Of a total of 172 panels, sixty are in nine sets of figural designs of four to nine panels, including three sets of the Artemisia series and three of The *Kings of France*. Sixty-eight of the panels are common verdures and decorative panels with fleurs-de-lis. Also in this room are inventoried six, seven and eight-panel *tentures* of Raphael de La Planche, son of François, and five sets of Flemish tapestry.

The third group, in the *boutiques*, is composed of incomplete sets. In the important *boutique d'or* a gold and silver Artemisia set of eleven panels is on the looms. In the other ateliers a total of forty-eight silk and wool tapestries are detailed. These include twenty-three panels of the Pastor Fido series, three of *The Kings of France* series, seven of the Artemisia series, fourteen verdures and one untitled high-warp panel.

The popularity of the various sets is clearly indicated in the total number of 290 tapestries described in the inventory. Fifty-three are of the Artemisia series which was designed by Antoine Caron and Henri Lerambert. Almost as great a quantity of the Pastor Fido series designed by the successors to Lerambert, Guillaume Dumée and Laurent Guyot, are on hand – forty-three. The other sets in the inventory, excepting the Toussaint Dubreuil Diana and the Constantine sets, The *Kings of France*, The *Hunts of Francis I* and the Gombaut and Macée series were all designed by Guyot. Other series not listed in the inventory were produced, such as the *History of Coriolanus* designed by Lerambert after Caron and Guyot in 1600.[43]

The verdures and other decorative pieces produced in the shop are a special problem. Although they constituted over one-quarter of the total number of pieces in the inventory, their evaluations are very low. They cannot be identified because they are not signed and probably were coarse pieces.

The total number of tapestries produced in the shop during the twenty-six years of operation must have been over one thousand.[44] This figure is based on the assumption of the average of one-half of the looms being in activity for the period and the estimated time for weaving a complicated low-warp tapestry of one-half to three-quarters of a year with four to eight people working at one loom. The figure is probably higher considering the great range of quality produced in the shop and the probability that more than half of the looms were on the average in operation.

After the death of François de La Planche, his eldest son, Raphael, took over his position in the shop. Dissension soon developed between Comans and the younger La Planche which culminated in a complete break in 1633. At that time Raphael moved out of the Saint-Marcel shop and took most of the workers with him. The new atelier was established in the Faubourg Saint-Germain in buildings bordered by the Rue de la Chaise, the Rue du Bac and on the north a street renamed for the new enterprise, the Rue de la Planche.[45] The rivalry between the two shops led to the practice of appropriating each other's workers. The result was a *convention* dated May 4, 1634,[46] in which each factory is forbidden to accept workers from the other – if new workers are needed they should be procured from Flanders. Large fines are to be imposed for any infringement of the regulations. Finally, regulations are established for the weaving and sale of tapestries from each shop. The directorship of the Saint-Marcel shop had been given over to the son of Marc de Comans, Charles, who died a year later, and was succeeded by his brother Alexandre and on the latter's death in 1651, by another brother, Hippolyte.

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[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 41 ff.

[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 42–44.

[43] Fenaille, *op. cit.*, pp. 213 f., Göbel, *op. cit.*, pp. 67–68. Other sets woven by the factory are listed by Göbel.

[44] Göbel, *op. cit.*, p. 82, gives the figure of 700, but says it is probably much higher. Using Göbel's figures for the length of time to produce one tapestry the total number is nearer 1,000.

[45] For the Saint-Germain shop and the later development of the Saint-Marcel shop, cf. Göbel, *op. cit.*, pp. 85–106, Guiffrey, in Fenaille, pp. 15–16, 18–23.

It is difficult to assign the tapestries which were woven in the Comans atelier, but from an inventory made after the death of the first wife of Raphael de La Planche in 1661 we know something of the production of the shop. The document[47] lists not only the tapestries on the loom and in storage, but also the cartoons, evaluated by Philippe de Champaigne. Because the same designs were woven in several shops, the inventory gives an indication of the production not only of the Saint-Germain shop, but also of the other ateliers of this later period. In addition to listing the tapestries and cartoons, household furnishings, silks and wools, Flemish tapestries and various kinds of needlework, called *tapisseries de Rouen* or *de Beauvais*, are included.

The shop had nearly as many looms in operation as the Saint-Marcel shop – fifty-two – although it apparently was not divided into the smaller ateliers – *boutiques* – as the earlier shop. Also, from the inventory we can conclude that the more common practice of the shop was to weave the tapestries to order rather than having a stock from which the patron might choose because the name of the person ordering the tapestry prefaces each item.

Of the 153 tapestries inventoried many are verdures – forty-one. Sets of the Four Seasons and an Abraham series are listed but are difficult to identify. Five sets of the *History of Daphne*, three large sets of the Tancred and Chlorinda series and several pieces of a Psyche series are either on the looms or completed.

The cartoons itemized are a further indication of the repertory of the shop. Those for tapestries not in the shop include: Theagène and Cariclée, Dido and Aeneas, the Months of the Year and the Constantine series. Presumably some of these are copies of designs originating in other shops. In at least one instance, a series of the Months of the Year, it is probably a question of a copy of a Flemish set.[48]

The production of the shops can be further identified to some extent by the weaver's monogram. Some earlier sets continued to be made, such as The *Hunts of Francis I*, examples of which are known with marks from both periods.[49] The paintings of Vouet and his school were an important source of designs for this later period in all of the Paris shops. The earliest series, designed shortly after his return to France in 1627, is that of the *Old Testament* woven both by the Louvre shop and the Saint-Marcel shop.[50] The sources for most of the Vouet tapestries were the decorative paintings in the Hôtel de Bullion and other buildings: The *Loves of the Gods*, The *Odyssey* and *Rinaldo and Armida*. Most of these sets were made in several shops, as for example, the *Rinaldo and Armida*, of which examples are known from the Saint-Germain and the Saint-Marcel shops. Other painters were related in various degrees to tapestry design in the Paris shops in this later period – La Hire, Le Sueur, Vignon,[51] but none to the extent of Vouet.

The Saint-Germain shop continued to be active until the formation of the Gobelins shop by Colbert in 1662, although the decline begins several years before.[52] The eldest son of Raphael, Sébastien-François, assumes directorship of the shop after 1661, but with the new Gobelins venture and lack of business sense of the new director, the decline is rapid – in 1667 the shop is liquidated with seven sets of tapestries entering the state collections.

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[46] Published by Guiffrey, in: 'Les manufactures parisiennes . . .', pp. 106–109.

[47] Published by Guiffrey, in Fenaille, pp. 59–71.

[48] Göbel, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

[49] Fenaille, *op. cit.*, pp. 241–245.

[50] For the Vouet designs, cf. Göbel, *op. cit.*, pp. 89–97, Fenaille, *op. cit.*, pp. 309–346 and Crelly, William R., *The Paintings of Simon Vouet*, pp. 102, 266–267.

[51] For the tapestries related to these painters, cf. Göbel, *op. cit.*, pp. 99, 105, Fenaille, *op. cit.*, pp. 269–277.

[52] Guiffrey, 'Les manufactures parisiennes . . .', pp. 120–121, Göbel, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

Although the three Paris shops – Saint-Marcel, Saint-Germain and the Louvre – were certainly the most important in France in the seventeenth century until the founding of the Gobelins, several provincial ateliers were in operation during this time.

Three of these shops were connected with the Saint-Marcel shop: Amiens, Calais and Tours.[53] The Amiens atelier was established in 1604, three years after the founding of the Saint-Marcel shop. In the 1607 royal edict, formally creating the Paris shop, it is stated that twenty looms shall remain in operation at 'Amyens'. The tapestries woven in the early years were probably after the same designs as those being used at the Paris shop. The only set which could be from this early period is a set of the *Hunts of Francis I*. There are many sets from the later period which are based on Vouet's designs which are either recorded in inventories as from Amiens or bearing the shop mark, an A.

The Calais shop was founded after 1604 and only lasted until about 1620. Like the Amiens shop it used cartoons from the Comans-La Planche shop, and produced small pieces such as chair coverings and sold tapestries.

The Touraine region, one of the important centers of tapestry manufacture earlier, had slowly declined during the sixteenth century. Tapestries continued to be produced, but the work was of no greater importance than in many other provincial areas. Comans and La Planche signed an act of association for a branch atelier in Tours in 1613 although negotiations had been in progress for a number of years. Alexander Motheron III of Tours, a member of a family which had directed a tapestry shop in Tours in the sixteenth century, became the head of the new atelier. In the shop, the Flemish low-warp technique was used, but not for the first time in the city – a Fleming, Francoys Dubois, had introduced the technique some forty years earlier. Little is known of the tapestries from the shop, but in all likelihood they were, as were the products of the other branches, based on cartoons from Paris; several pieces of sets being woven at the Saint-Marcel shop are noted in old inventories as *fabrique de Tours*.[54] The shop did not prosper, however, and its activities were terminated in 1623.

The Marche shops, Aubusson and Felletin, continued in their early manner during the seventeenth century, for the most part producing coarser and cheaper work than that produced in Paris.[55] Many of the tapestries were verdures, *tapis de feuillage à fil simple*. Exceptionally, figural sets were woven, many with religious subjects such as Esther, Susanna or the Prophets. In lesser numbers popular subjects such as Gombaut and Macée, Pastor Fido and panels with mythological episodes were executed. The shops remained active throughout the seventeenth century, and although Colbert in 1665 had taken measures to strengthen the position of the industry there was a gradual decline. It was not until the eighteenth century that the shops again prospered.

Even though the greater part of the tapestries in the first half of the seventeenth century were woven in the larger shops, the earlier practice of establishing an atelier for the weaving of a specific set continued. Most frequently, the workers and the tapestries are little known, being executed by itinerant weavers and known only through isolated documents. Two sets for which there is adequate documentation, however, are The *History of Henry III* and The *Life of the Virgin*. The former was woven at the château of Cadillac near Bordeaux in a shop established by the Duke of Épernon.[56] The enormous set – twenty-seven pieces – was woven from 1622 to 1637 by Claude de La Pierre, one of the less important master weavers from the Comans-La Planche shop, and three other weavers. The *Life of the Virgin*, a *tenture* of fourteen panels, was woven between 1638 and 1657 for the Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Paris.[57] The *maître tapissier*, Pierre Damour, directed an atelier at Reims, but signs this set 'A.PARIS.PAR.DAMOUR', which led Fenaille to conclude that they were woven at the Cathedral.

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[53] For these factories, cf. Göbel, *op. cit.*, pp. 107–109, 265 ff., Guiffrey, in Fenaille, pp. 14–15.

[54] Fenaille, *op. cit.*, pp. 217, 222.

[55] Göbel, *op. cit.*, pp. 236–239, 245–253.

[56] *Ibid.*, pp. 351–352, Fenaille, *op. cit.*, pp. 257–261.

[57] Göbel, *op. cit.*, pp. 327–328, Fenaille, *op. cit.*, pp. 263–268.

The atelier at Maincy was the last independent shop to be organized before the Gobelins factory was established by Colbert in 1662.[58] Founded by Nicolas Fouquet, superintendent of finances under Louis XIV, at Maincy near Fouquet's château of Vaux-le-Vicomte, the shop was in operation from 1658 to 1663 under the artistic direction of Charles LeBrun, who was *directeur des peintures* of the château. From the twelve looms, operated for the most part by Flemish weavers, the most famous productions are the *portières des Renommées, de Mars, du Char de Triomphe* and *de la Licorne*, which were endlessly reproduced later at the Gobelins. Two series of figural tapestries were also woven: an eight-panel Meleager *tenture* and a five-panel Constantine set. Fouquet was arrested in 1661 and imprisoned shortly after, his possessions being confiscated by the state which was very helpful to Louis XIV and Colbert in setting up the Gobelins shop.

The culmination of the organization of tapestry weaving in France is the Gobelins shop – *La manufacture royale des meubles de la Couronne* – in 1662.[59] This important move resulted from the desire of Louis XIV to consolidate the direction of art production under his authority although the uncertain state of the Paris shops and the dissolution of the Maincy atelier were important factors.

The French shops in the middle of the seventeenth century were at a low point. The Paris shops of the Louvre, Saint-Germain and Saint-Marcel, as well as those of the Marche and the Touraine, were still active but they were certainly not producing tapestries of distinguished quality. Then, in this situation, in 1661 several interrelated events took place which presented the opportunity for the formation of the new shop. In this year took place the death of the Prime Minister, Cardinal Mazarin, and the arrest of the Cardinal's ally, Fouquet. The resources of Fouquet's atelier at Maincy were therefore freed to be incorporated in the new shop. Possibly also having some bearing on the formation of the new shop was the passing of the directorship of the Saint-Germain shop from Raphael de La Planche to his highly incompetent eldest son Sébastien-François. In 1662, the Gobelins shop was founded, using the director of Fouquet's shop, LeBrun, as director. The buildings in which the new enterprise was to operate were those of the Hôtel des Canaye, which had been occupied by the Comans-La Planche shop, with the workers from Paris and Maincy gradually assimilated into the new undertaking.

The Gobelins produced not only tapestries, but also sculpture, gold and silver work, mosaic, bronze, furniture and other decorative art. This assemblage of the various workshops was certainly not a new conception – it had been effected at Tours nearly a century and a half earlier and, to a lesser extent, at the Trinité shop. The need for a shop of greater scope and built on a more sound business basis than the privately sponsored enterprise, which was subject to the caprices of taste and the financial and political uncertainties of the private patron, for tapestry manufacture to prosper again in France, had been recognized by Henry IV. Indeed, that King's efforts are acknowledged in the edict of 1667 – the formal confirmation of the shop. Within the larger complex, the smaller ateliers were organized in the same manner as the *boutiques* of the Saint-Marcel shop with each atelier working on an individual basis, receiving raw materials from the shop and being paid for the finished product, with the privilege of taking orders from outside. The introduction of the Flemish low-warp loom by Comans and La Planche, which caused such a stir earlier in the century was now accepted: one of the four workshops was devoted to low-warp weaving, under the direction of Jean de la Croix from the Saint-Marcel factory. The method continued to be used throughout the eighteenth century. The other three shops employed the high-warp method, two being directed by master weavers from the Louvre shop and one by a Fleming.

The Gobelins shop, then, presented nothing new in the method of tapestry weaving or organization, but succeeded because of the rigid control by Colbert where earlier attempts had failed. With the Beauvais factory it dominated the field of tapestry weaving for the next one hundred and thirty years.

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58. Göbel, *op. cit.*, pp. 110–112, Fenaille, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 1–23, Guiffrey, in Fenaille, pp. 27–28.

59. Göbel, *op. cit.*, pp. 113 ff., Fenaille, *op. cit.*, vols. I and II, passim, Guiffrey, 'Les manufactures parisiennes . . . ', pp. 169–292.

TAPESTRY WEAVING IN ITALY AND THE BARBERINI SHOP

The evolution of tapestry weaving in Italy is quite different from that in France in many respects. Because Italy was composed of a group of independent units, there was no effort to organize tapestry manufacture on a scale other than that of private patronage. The three important shops of Ferrara, Florence and Rome owed their existence to the Este, Medici and Barberini families with many of the tapestries made for the use of the patrons.[60]

One of the earliest shops was formed on such a basis at Mantua by the Gonzaga. From the 1420's several workers were active in the production of various kinds of needlework and tapestries. It was not until the second half of the century, however, that there was any important activity. The atelier at this time employed at least eight workers, French, Flemish and Italian. It is during this period that Mantegna possibly produced designs for tapestries. In the service of the Gonzaga since 1459, sketches of animals were delivered by the painter which were apparently to be used as tapestry designs. The only tapestry to be closely related to Mantegna, however, is an *Annunciation* into which the Gonzaga arms were woven. The possibility exists, as with many Italian tapestries, that this panel was woven in Flanders.

After several decades of little official activity, when the workers executed private commissions, in the late fifteenth century and the early part of the sixteenth century the looms were again productive. During this period there are many references to tapestry workers, but only smaller decorative pieces were produced. In 1539 Niccolò Karcher, who with his brother was also active in Ferrara, was established in Mantua. Tapestries from the mid-century, a *Putti* series with the Gonzaga arms and a *Moses* series, although made for the Gonzaga, are thought to have been woven at the Ferrara factory. After the death of Karcher, in the late fifties, the factory remained in operation through the second half of the century but produced little.

In Venice also, tapestry workers are recorded early in the fifteenth century. In 1421 a worker from Arras and one from Bruges were established in the city. Little is known of their productions other than that, like other small shops, they wove small decorative and religious panels. Many documents throughout the fifteenth century relate to this sort of work and to the designs for it, as well as for larger figural series. In 1450 the designs for a *History of Saint Theodore* were commissioned and in 1473 Cosimo Tura was active as tapestry designer. Whether these tapestries were destined to be executed on the looms of Venice or Flanders is not known. The same problem exists relative to a series of the *Life of Christ* after designs by a follower of Vivarini.

In the sixteenth century, although there was a great taste for tapestries in Venice, the production of the native shops was very small, with the demand being supplied by the great Flemish shops and the active shops at Florence and Ferrara. In 1550, a rich set of the *Life of Saint Mark* was executed on the Florentine looms. Although there was a branch of the Medici shop in Venice, it probably produced only smaller pieces. In the second half of the century, a few panels were woven: the *Theological Virtues* after Titian, and in the last years, the *History of Saint Lorenzo Giustiniani* after Tintoretto.

Genoa, like Mantua and Venice, was active in the sixteenth century, but unlike the other shops had no significant activity until the middle of the century. In the fifties two ateliers were established by Flemish weavers. One shop disappeared in a few years, but the other remained active for a short time, selling a large ten-panel set with grotesque decoration, and weaving several smaller sets. In the last quarter of the century several workers were in the city, but their activity is uncertain.

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[60] The general comments here, concerning the shops in Italy preceding the Barberini atelier have been taken from Göbel, *op. cit.*, pt. II, vol. I: Mantua, pp. 402–407; Venice, pp. 438–444; Genoa, pp. 447–448; Siena, p. 451; Milan, pp. 410–413; Bologna, p. 429; Perugia, p. 450; Todi, p. 428; Correggio, p. 449; Urbino, p. 414; Modena, p. 415; Verona, pp. 445–446; Ferrara, pp. 366–376; Florence, pp. 377–401.

In the first half of the fifteenth century several tapestry workers settled in Siena. In 1436 a Brussels master was established and was not only active in Siena, but also traveled to Ferrara and Mantua. The products of this shop were the usual small decorative pieces with floral and armorial decoration. A French worker established in the city a few years later, however, executed work of a greater variety. Besides decorative panels, he wove a six-panel set of the *History of Saint Peter* for Pope Nicholas V in 1451.

It was in the second half of the fifteenth century that many more shops were established. In Milan in 1455 an atelier was established by Francesco Sforza, headed by a Burgundian weaver, where the usual smaller pieces were woven. In the sixteenth century the production continued. A *Life of the Virgin* set was woven in the thirties and possibly several panels of a *Caesar* series.

A shop similar to the Cadillac shop in France was established at the nearby town of Vigevano by Gian Giacomo Trivulzio. As at the Cadillac factory, workers were imported to weave one set of tapestries – an impressive twelve-panel series of the Months executed by a weaver from Milan.

In the sixties several minor shops were established at Bologna, Perugia, Todi and Correggio. At Urbino, under Federigo da Montefeltro in 1470, a small colony of Flemish workers executed a rich gold and silver-worked set of The *History of Troy*. Of these shops, only those at Bologna and Correggio continued their activities into the sixteenth century. Late in the fifteenth century and early in the sixteenth century a few workers were also active in Modena and Verona.

Of the three major tapestry shops in Italy – Ferrara, Florence and Rome – that in Ferrara under the patronage of the Este was the earliest to be formed. Like Florence, however, its greatest development was reached in the sixteenth century. The earliest weavers to establish themselves in Ferrara, one in 1436 and another five years later, were Flemish. Their work for the most part consisted of repairing tapestries. After the middle of the century the activity of the shop increased, with additional Flemish weavers employed. The production consisted of various decorative pieces: a variety of covers, wall hangings, and portieres with floral and armorial decoration. Much of the activity, as was that of many Italian shops, was in the procurement of Flemish tapestries, the execution of all kinds of needlework, and repair work. During this period Cosimo Tura served as designer for the shop. The activity continued through the early sixteenth century with masters coming to work in the shop from many countries: Flanders, France, Germany, Spain and Italy.

The important period begins in the thirties under Ercole II, with Niccolò and Giovanni Karcher as co-directors under whom worked eight weavers. The productions of the shop were of high quality owing to the Brussels training of the weavers. As designers the brothers Battista Dosso and Dosso Dossi, and possibly Giulio Romano, were active. A number of large sets were produced: a five-panel set with episodes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, a four-panel *Hercules* series, an eight-panel *Saint George and Saint Maurilius* set and an extensive *Putti* series which included many smaller panels. In the middle years of the century the looms were the busiest with private work executed for the Gonzaga at Mantua – a *Putti* and a *Moses* series, but after the death of Ercole II in 1559 the production slackened. A few pieces were produced, namely, the *Life of the Virgin*, but otherwise the activity in Ferrara was sporadic with the shop disappearing toward the end of the century.

The second important factory in Italy was that of the Medici at Florence. In the fifteenth century there are only a few scattered notices of weavers. The first is in 1457 concerning a Flemish worker who had been connected with the Este at Ferrara since 1441. As designer, apparently, worked Neri di Bicci, whose shop executed frescoes and altar paintings in addition to tapestry designs. Strangely, there was practically no tapestry weaving under the great art patron, Lorenzo the Magnificent, in the second half of the century; it was not until the forties of the following century under Cosimo I that a factory of importance was established. In 1546 the shop was officially established with Jan Rost and Niccolò Karcher, who had earlier been associated with the Este at Ferrara. The atelier, containing twenty-four looms, worked both for the Medici and for other patrons. The first work was the completion of an extensive twenty-piece gold-worked room garniture for the Palazzo Vecchio in the years 1545–1552 with designs by Bronzino, assisted by Pontormo and Salviati. Concurrently on the looms were a gold-worked series with grotesque ornament and a series of the Months. Among the other series woven at this time were a *History of Tarquinius and Lucretia*, several panels with religious subjects after Salviati and *Parnassus* and *Marsyas* panels after Bronzino. During this period Bronzino designed the first of the portieres with coats of arms and allegorical figures which were to serve as examples for such panels later in the sixteenth century and in the seventeenth century in both Italy and France.

In the sixties and seventies, the looms were devoted to the production of a set depicting episodes from the history of the Medici family and a series of Hunts from cartoons by the official designer, Jan van der Straten, from Flanders. The shop continued to make religious pieces and execute private work. Van der Straten was replaced by Alessandro Allori in 1576. On his designs sets were woven of Latona, Paris, Pluto, Bacchus and Proserpina, Phaethon and a *Life of the Virgin*. The shop also executed smaller pieces and tapestries for patrons in Italy and Spain. The period from 1585 to 1596 was one of great activity with fifty-two tapestries woven. The activity lasted through the very early years of the seventeenth century but in the reign of Cosimo II (1609–1621) the shop began to decline. An indication of the direction which the shop took in the next century was the 1604 execution of a *Scipio Africanus* set probably using the Giulio Romano cartoons. More and more early cartoons were used throughout the century, and although new designs were woven, they were not made by painters of the stature of the earlier designers. During Cosimo's reign, the factory produced very little, but under his successor, Ferdinand II (1621–1670), although the production was greater, under the French weaver Pierre Lefebvre, the quality was not up to the standard of the earlier work. Old cartoons continued to be used and a standard border was adopted. Tapestry portraits and reproductions of paintings became popular. As before, most of the tapestries were sets with figural designs. Exceptionally a decorative ensemble was woven, such as a bed garniture of 1647, occasionally small religious pieces, and always portieres. Under the succeeding Dukes the factory continued to weave similar tapestries until it closed in 1744.

The Barberini shop was the third important tapestry shop to be founded in Italy. Until the seventeenth century there had been little activity in tapestry manufacture in Rome. Nicholas V had established an atelier in the middle of the fifteenth century, in which a *Creation* series was perhaps woven and in 1558 Paul IV called Jan Rost from Florence to form an atelier, but the project did not materialize. Not until 1627 with the founding of the Barberini shop was there a successful tapestry atelier in Rome.

The activity of the shop has been very little known until recently, but with the recent studies from original documents,[61] it is now possible to have a more accurate account of the organization and activities of the shop.

The Barberini family had knowledge of the Paris tapestry shops early in the seventeenth century. In 1606 Cardinal Maffeo Barberini, later Pope Urban VIII, and papal representative in Paris, ordered tapestries for a colleague from the Paris shops.[62] Of great significance in relation to the founding of the Barberini shop was the visit of the Cardinal Francesco to Paris in 1625. During these months the Cardinal possibly visited the Paris shops and certainly was aware of tapestries which were to be seen. The diary of this journey notes those tapestries seen at Paris and Fontainebleau.[63] Two years later the Barberini shop in Rome was founded by the Cardinal.

The specific building in Rome in which the looms were housed is not known. It is logical to assume that it was located in the Barberini Palace, but as the palace was under construction at the time of the shop's first

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61. The literature on the Barberini atelier is very limited. However, two important recent studies have superseded all other published material. They are: Barberini, Urbano, 'Pietro da Cortona e l'Arazzeria Barberini', in: *Bollettino d'Arte*, no. I, January–March, 1950, pp. 43–51, and no. II, April–June, 1950, pp. 145–152 and Cavallo, Adolph S., 'Notes on the Barberini Tapestry Manufactory at Rome', in: *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, Spring 1957, pp. 17–26. These studies have largely superseded the earlier historians in their accounts of the Barberini shop: Göbel, *op. cit.*, pp. 417–422; Müntz, Eugène, 'L'atelier de tapisseries du cardinal François Barberini à Rome', in: *Chronique des Arts*, 1876, pp. 229 ff.; Guiffrey, Jules, *Histoire de la tapisserie depuis le moyen age jusqu'a nos jours*, pp. 317–318. Barberini and Cavallo cite other early references.

62. Cavallo, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

63. Müntz, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

work, the atelier could only have been located in some portion finished early in the construction or moved there later.[64]

The shop was a private project, with the largest part of its production intended for the use of the Barberini family and not under the patronage of the Vatican.[65] Tapestries were executed on looms for other clients, however: two orders for the Vatican, several pieces for the Duke of Ferrara and an attributed set with the Colonna arms. There are additional notices of other patrons.[66]

In the early years of the manufactory, Cardinal Francesco had reports sent to him concerning various technical matters from major tapestry centers of Europe.[67] Dating from 1627 or 1628 to 1634, the letters were sent from Florence, Venice, Brussels and Paris. The matters dealt with concern the relative qualities of wool and silk from different areas, the ingredients of the dyes being used, and the prices of the materials both dyed and undyed. From these reports and other documents from these early years, including transactions with the wool and dyeing center at Avignon, it appears that in the early years the factory used wool from Avignon and that some of it was purchased already dyed. However, because some of the correspondence includes detailed accounts of dye formulas and other technical information it seems likely that there was some thought of eventually dyeing fibers at the factory.

In the early period of the shop's activity the artistic direction was regulated by Pietro da Cortona, who executed many of his important works under the patronage of the Barberini. During the early period of the shop, the master weaver was Jacomo della Riviera or Giacomo de la Rivière[68] (Jacob van den Vliete) from the Flemish tapestry center of Audenarde. Although there must have been a number of weavers working under him, almost nothing is known about them. The names of two assistant weavers, one from Flanders and one from France, have come to light.[69] After the death of Jacomo della Riviera in 1639, his place was taken by his son-in-law Gasparo Rocci, who, besides being a weaver, had also transposed the Pietro da Cortona designs for the over-doors of the *Castles* series into cartoons.[70] Another worker, Pietro Lascotti, is known from the letters written to the Cardinal during his exile from 1646 to 1652. In the letters Lascotti says that he is in charge of the factory, which was active during the Cardinal's absence.

The first panels on the looms were a series depicting famous castles of Europe: Aranjuez, Fontainebleau, Pratolino Riviera di Genova, Castel Gandolfo and Castello di Grottaferrata, woven from 1627 to 1631. The first two were designed by Filippo d'Angeli, the others by Francesco Mingucci. Included in this set were also two panels, woven during the same years, with the Barberini arms and views of the Barberini fiefs of Palestrina and Monterotondo.[71] The association of Pietro da Cortona with the shop begins with this series. To this painter was entrusted the design of two over-door panels and two *entre-fenêtres*.[72]

The next series undertaken by the shop was the Kress-Barberini *History of Constantine the Great*, after designs by Pietro da Cortona, which was woven in the years from 1630 to 1641. On the looms at the same time as the Constantine series were two commissions of Urban VIII, designed by Giovanni Francesco Romanelli, a Nativity panel finished in 1635 and six pendants finished two years later. Three other panels were woven for this series, after the completion of the Constantine series, in 1642, 1643 and 1648.[73]

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[64] Cavallo, *op. cit.*, pp. 23–24.

[65] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

[66] *Idem.*

[67] These documents were partically published by Müntz, Eugène, 'Documents sur la fabrication des tapisseries dans la première moitié du XVII^e siècle en France, en Italie et dans les Flandres', in: *Revue des sociétés savantes des départements*, 1874, pp. 504–520. Cavallo, *op. cit.*, has studied them in more detail and from them has been able to present many important facts concerning the atelier which have heretofore been unknown. In his careful study Cavallo has also documented facts which previously have been assumed. The text here is based on these two articles. Barberini, *op. cit.*, pp. 47–48, also discusses the documents.

[68] Pollak, Oskar, *Die Kunsttätigkeit unter Urban VIII*, vol. I, pp. 386, 397, publishes documents of payment to 'Jacomo della Riviera'.

[69] Cavallo, *op. cit.*, pp. 21–22.

[70] *Idem;* Barberini, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

[71] Cavallo, *op. cit.*, p. 22; Barberini, *op. cit.*, pp. 43–44.

[72] Barberini, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

During this period also was being woven a series of *Putti at Play* after cartoons by Romanelli. Like the *Castles* and *Constantine* series, although not as extensive, the *Putti* series was designed as a room garniture of seven large panels and six smaller frieze panels. Payments for the weaving of this series are dated from 1637 to 1642.[74]

After the completion of the Constantine series, the next major work to be undertaken was the twelve-panel *Life of Christ* series. The design of one panel was based on the Pietro da Cortona fresco of the Crucifixion in the Chapel of the Palazzo Barberini from which Gasparo Rocci executed the cartoon. The other panels were designed by Romanelli and Paolo Spagna. The series was begun in 1643 and completed in 1656.[75] During this time the Cardinal was living in exile in France (from 1646 to 1652), but maintained contact with the shop through correspondence with Pietro Lascotti.

The last datable tapestries to be woven on the Barberini looms was the extensive set of the *Life of Urban VIII*. It consisted of at least ten large panels, eight pilaster panels, and many frieze panels. The weaving of this series was begun after 1663 and finished after 1683.[76]

A number of panels from the shop which are not datable from documents, are known. Among these pieces are five panels with the Apollo story[77] and the attributed group of armorial panels with the Colonna arms.[78] Also falling into this group are the pieces ordered by the Duke of Ferrara: a panel with *Apollo and the Giants*, an additional panel for a *Scipio* set, and a number of decorative pieces.[79] After the death of Cardinal Francesco in 1679 the factory was in operation a few years in order to finish the Urban VIII set.

Tapestry manufacture flourished again in Rome in the eighteenth century at the Hospice of San Michele, under the patronage of the Vatican. Other tapestry shops were also in operation at Turin and Naples, the latter operated by workers from the Medici shop. In Venice there are notices of various small pieces woven.

The Barberini shop was the last great tapestry shop in Italy. Those which followed were but minor ventures: the Gobelins ruled supreme over Europe during the eighteenth century.

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73. Cavallo, *op. cit.*, p. 22, Barberini, *op. cit.*, p. 145.
74. Cavallo, *op. cit.*, p. 42, Barberini, *op. cit.*, p. 146.
75. Cavallo, *op. cit.*, p. 22, Barberini, *op. cit.*, pp. 150–151.
76. Cavallo, *op. cit.*, pp. 22–23. The eight pilaster panels were published by Heinrich Göbel, 'Das Leben Urbans VIII', in: *Der Cicerone*, 1929, pp. 305–311. Gertrude Townsend published four of the panels in the collection of the Boston Museum in the *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, Spring 1957, pp. 10–15: 'Four Panels of Roman Baroque Tapestry'. Marguerite Calberg has published one of the large panels in Brussels, in: 'Hommage au Pope Urban VIII, Tapissèrie de la manufacture Barberini à Rome, XVII^{e} siècle (après 1663)', in: *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, 1959, 4e ser., pp. 99–110. A single pilaster panel is at the Philadelphia Museum of Art.
77. Cavallo, *op. cit.*, pp. 22, 23.
78. *Idem*, and Viale, *op. cit.*, p. 91.
79. Cavallo, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 23.

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